Calcutta University
Readership Lectures

INDIA

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, A. D.

India in the Seventeenth Century

As depicted by European Travellers

BY

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The Study of Indian History

Inaugural

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND FELLOW-STUDENTS,

"HISTORY, in the great conception of it, has often been compared to a mountain chain seen far off in a clear sky, where the peaks seem linked to one another towards the higher crest of the group. An ingenious and learned writer the other day amplified this famous image, by speaking of a set of volcanic islands heaving themselves out of the sea, at such angles and distances that only to the eye of a bird, and not to a sailor cruising among them, would they appear as the heights of one and the same submerged range. The sailor is the politician. The historian, without prejudice to monographic exploration in intervening valleys and ascending slopes, will covet the vision of the bird."

This is one of the pregnant utterances of that great philosophic teacher of modern times, Viscount Morley of Blackburn, to whose sanity of judgment and historic insight posterity will remain for ever indebted, and whose name is

held in ever-growing admiration wherever the English tongue is spoken, but more specially in India, though in his latter days to the infinite regret of all students of history and politics he has been giving to party what is meant for mankind. Permit me to place by the side of this, another of his impressive deliverances—

"In a fine figure the sublimest of Roman poets paints the struggle of warrior hosts upon the plain, the gleam of burnished arms, the fiery wheeling of the horse, the charges that thunder on the ground. But yet, he says, there is a tranquil spot on the far-off heights whence all the scouring legions seem as if they stood still, and all the glancing flash and confusion of battle as though it were blended in a sheet of steady flame. So history makes the shifting things seem fixed. Posterity sees a whole. With the statesman in revolutionary times it is different. Through decisive moments that seemed only trivial, and by critical turns that he took to be indifferent, he explores dark and untried paths, groping his way through a jungle of vicissitude, ambush, stratagem, expedient; a match for fortune in all her moods; lucky if now and again he catch a glimpse of the polar star."

"Posterity sees a whole." It is thus a comprehensive picture of Seventeenth Century India as a whole which the historical student

would naturally delight to contemplate, from his vantage-ground of a tranquil spot on the far-off heights, for it helps him to realize once again how the present has its roots deep down in the past, and how the different chapters of the history of India are but stages in a process of organic evolution and historic growth. And yet in the anarchic times which followed the disintegration of the Mogul Empire he would fain recognize the part played and the influence exercised by master-minds and imposing personalities—a Clive or a Warren Hastings—who were not content to take life as it came, but who tried to shape and mould it for themselves, and who guided the course of contemporary events by their force of foresight and the fire of genius.

On a similar occasion last year, I began my course of lectures by inviting your attention to a favourite thesis of our dear old Oxford teacher—Freeman—a thesis which he was never tired of emphasizing with indefatigable iteration, viz. that of the unity of history. I asked you to consider how that idea affects the study of the history of our land and I tried to explain that though for conveniences of study we divide the history of India into the Hindu Period, the Mahomedan Period and the British Period, it would be a mistake to regard these as so many air-tight compartments having no reference or relation to one another. For how can we hope

to understand the land revenue policy or the administrative system of Akbar without knowing something of the genius and characteristics of Hindu civilization; how unhistorical again is the view which looks upon the rise and development of British power in the East as the sudden inrushing of an European element into an Asiatic void. My object in recalling this to your mind is to explain an apparent paradox in my attitude; for while on the one hand, in theory, I am asking you to think of the unity of history and to consider the History of India as an organic whole, on the other hand, in practice, I am presenting before you pictures of a snug nook in this vast continent at a particular epoch in one course of lectures, and following that up with pictures of certain aspects of India at a subsequent period. But the paradox is only apparent as will be partly seen from what has been already stated by anticipation. For one thing the days of specialisation are with us. "The temper of our present time is adverse to generalization. Harnack says that in 1700 the most universal or encyclopaedic mind was Leibnitz, and in 1800 it was Goethe. I suppose Leonardo da Vinci for 1500, and nobody would dispute that in 1600 it was Bacon the greatest intellect that ever combined power in thought with responsible practice in affairs of State. To whom should competent authorities give the

palm in 1900? If we are slow to answer, the reason is that advance of specialisation over the whole field of knowledge has made the encyclopaedic mind an anachronism. The day of the circumnavigator is over, the men who strive to round the whole sphere of mind, to complete the circuit of thought and knowledge, and to touch at all the ports." The same philosophic teacher whose words I have just quoted tells us again, "To-day taste and fashion have for a season turned away from the imposing tapestries of the literary historian, in favour of the drab serge of research among diplomatic archives, parish registers, private muniments, and everything else so long as it is not print"—though indeed we have to be constantly on our guard against the perils of archivial research.

Our genial teacher of a bygone generation, Sir John Seeley, reminded us in his own inimitable way—"No one can long study history without being haunted by the idea of development, of progress. We move onward, both each of us and all of us together. England is not now what it was under the Stuarts or the Tudors, and in these last centuries at least there is much to favour the view that the movement is progressive, that it is towards something better. But how shall we define this movement, and how shall we measure it?" Indeed we have our differences of opinion as to what is implied in and what is the

significance of our modern watchword "progress". But as I pleaded with you on another occasion and in another connection, the ideas with which modern sociological writers have made us familiar are those of evolution, and of gradual development, and adaptation to circumstances in the social and political organism discernible in all communities. The student of history would fain believe that in India, as everywhere else, the present has grown historically out of the past and that the course of Indian History also is marked by the working out of certain definite principles and the operation of certain general causes. We would fain believe that out of the union of the East and the West brought about by the genius and energy of Clive and Hastings, certain definite ideals as regards the government of dependencies and certain definite conceptions regarding the nature and responsibilities of Empire are being evolved in the English political world in accordance with the march of events in English history since the days of Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773.

That the present Government of India with its complicated administrative machinery should have grown out of a trading corporation not composed of the best which England had to give to the cause of maritime adventure and colonial expansion, offers a historical problem of the highest interest. Its study cannot but be full

of instruction and practical suggestions for us all.

Here I am bound to explain that the modern historian no longer accepts the view that the acquisition of sovereign authority in India by the East India Company is something marvellous or strange. Strange it is not, in the sense that it cannot be accounted for; strange it may be in the sense that nothing like it had happened before, though history has repeated itself, and something like it has happened since, within living memory, as we realize when we think of the achievements of another chartered Company in the dark continent of Africa.

In our days it is one of the commonplaces of the historian to remark that the rise and ascendancy of Napoleon is in reality more wonderful than the final triumph of the English East India Company. As Seeley puts it, "That the younger son of a poor nobleman in Corsica should control the greater part of Europe with despotic power, is intrinsically far more wonderful than that the East India Company should conquer India, for Bonaparte began without interest, without friends, without a penny in his pocket, and yet he not only gained his empire but lost it again in less than twenty years", while the East India Company was a chartered Corporation, with a subscribed capital to fall back upon, and the prestige of the nation to support it.

But the problem to which I have invited your attention is none the less instructive for this reason.

Indeed, one of the most hopeful signs of the times is the steadily increasing interest in the study of Indian History, from this point of view, viz., for the sake of the instruction which it affords. Macaulay lamented the general indifference of his generation towards Indian questions, and wrote regretfully—"It might have been expected that every Englishman who takes any interest in any part of history would be anxious to know how a handful of his countrymen separated from their home by an immense ocean subjugated in the course of a few years one of the greatest empires in the world. Yet unless we greatly err, this subject is to most readers not only insipid but positively distasteful." Happily the complaint would have hardly any justification in our days.

Hence it is that I have ventured to invite you to study certain aspects of India in the seventeenth century with the help of the narratives of European travellers and foreign observers who were drawn to our land by their love of adventure, the fascination of romance, the call of the East.

Mr. Bland, who has recently presented to the thinking section of the reading public two really remarkable works on current events and present

policies in China, observes that "the Chinese, like the Hindus, have ever been peculiarly lacking in historic consciousness. The annals and records of successive dynasties provide little or no material for critical or scientific study of the evolution of the nation's laws, institutions and culture. The store-room of the Chinese race's past is a dark lumber place, full of musty relics, ancient myths and ghostly whisperings; we search it in vain for the cradle, the child-hood's toys, the school books and discarded garments of former days. And since it is only within the last century that this primordial elder brother of the human race has been brought to speaking terms with the outside world, our estimate of his earlier intellectual and political struggles is largely conjectural." Whatever truth these observations may contain as far as China is concerned, they would seem to have little relevance or applicability in the case of India—if we accept as trustworthy the results of recent researches into India's past, and the luminous teachings of our present-day Oriental scholars and savants. And as to the date when India, that other primordial elder brother of the human race, first came into contact with the wider outer world, what shall we say of it, where shall we put it? Was it in the days of Asoka or was it earlier still in the days of that great dreamer of imperialism, Alexander the Macedonian, or was

it at a still earlier moment in the history of the human race, whose memory is called up before our mind when we think of the recent startling discovery of the names of the gods of the Hindu pantheon in regions far remote from the natural boundaries of Aryavarta? Whatever that may be, India was brought into speaking terms with the outside world long before the seventeenth century of which I have undertaken to talk to you, and the observations of our seventeenth century European travellers regarding India and the people of India are by no means "largely conjectural". This however is only by way of a digression, and is interpolated as a parenthesis.

As against the views of the school of thinkers who are impressed by the inutility of the study of the history and antiquities of Oriental countries like India and China, I feel tempted to refer you to a few recently published words of an enthusiastic interpreter of Oriental ideals and a passionate votary of culture in all its forms, whose self-less life appeals to our sympathy and admiration almost with a compelling force—but who unfortunately is no longer with us.

We are told: "In the early history of man Asia formed a vast breeding-ground of civilization, of which countries like Egypt, Arabia, Greece, India and China were the extremities. Egypt and Arabia were destined later, from their geographical positions, to be overrun and

suffer destruction of their culture. Greece and pre-eminently India formed what may be called *culs-de-sac*. Here, as if up the long shores of some hidden creek, would be forced the tidal wave of one epoch after another, each leaving on the coast a tide-mark that perhaps none of its successors would be able entirely to cover. Hence, in India, we may hope to discover means of studying, as nowhere else in the world, the succession of epochs in culture."

Again we read : "Never averse to a new idea, no matter what its origin, India has never failed to put each on its trial. Avid of new thought, but jealously reluctant to accept new custom or to essay new expression, she has been slowly constructive, unfalteringly synthetic, from the earliest days to the present time."

The writer would thus imply that India had never lost touch with the past. The chain of development, the continuity of things, has seldom been snapped or violently interrupted. Hence in India the past will never cease to have its claims on the present.

"European travellers and foreign observers in the India of the 17th Century." The phrase strangely recalls to one's mind the frankly ingenuous opening words of that delightful lecture on Steele which Thackeray delivered,—a lecture which was one of a series of addresses delivered by our novelist, a humorist himself,

on the English Humorists. Thackeray asks, "What do we look for in studying the history of a past age? Is it to learn the political transactions and characters of the leading public men? Is it to make ourselves acquainted with the life and being of the time? If we set out with the former grave purpose, where is the truth and who believes that he has it entire?" Thackeray refers us to Swift's Conduct of the Allies and Cox's Life of Marlborough, and declares that in his opinion the "solemn statements which we find in books of history about public affairs are all nonsense and would not bear any sceptical examination." "The life and being of the time" is what should interest us. We are left in no doubt as to what Thackeray means, for he goes on to tell us :—

"You offer me an autobiography: I doubt all autobiographies I ever read, except those, perhaps, of Mr. Robinson Crusoe, Mariner, and writers of his class. These have no object of setting themselves right with the public or their own consciences, these have no motive for concealment or half-truths, these call for no more confidence than I can cheerfully give, and do not force me to tax my credulity or to fortify it by evidence. I take up a volume of Doctor Smollett, or a volume of the Spectator, and say the fiction carries a greater amount of truth in solution than the volume which purports to be

all true. Out of the fictitious book I get the expression of the life of the time, of the manners, of the movement, the dress, the pleasure, the laughter, the ridicules of society—the old times live again, and I travel in the old country of England. Can the heaviest historian do more for me?

"As we read in these delightful volumes of the Tatler and Spectator the past age returns, the England of our ancestors is revivified. The Maypole rises in the Strand again, in London, the churches are thronged with daily worshippers, the beaux are gathering in the coffeehouses, the gentry are going to the Drawing-room, the ladies are thronging to the toy-shops, the chairmen are jostling in the streets, the footmen are running with links before the chariots, or fighting round the theatre doors. In the country I see the young Squire riding to Eton with his servants behind him, and Will Wimble, the friend of the family, to see him safe."

We have a delightful comment on Thackeray's protests and professions from the pen of our genial historical teacher, Sir John Seeley which I crave your indulgence to place before you :—

"That a great novelist should think thus is in itself almost a matter of course. The great engineer Brindley, being asked for what purpose he supposed rivers to have been created, answered without the least hesitation, "To feed canals."

Thackeray, being asked why Queen Anne lived and the English under the Duke of Marlborough fought the French, answers candidly, "It was that I might write my delightful novel of Esmond. * * "

Thackeray does not deny that history might be important if it were true, but he says it is not true. He does not believe a word of it.

Let me remind you in this connection of an instructive chapter in Herbert Spencer's Facts and Comments which thus begins :—

"I believe it was a French King who wishing to consult some historical work called to his librarian, "Bring me my liar." The characterisation was startling, but not undeserved. The more we look round at the world's affairs and the statements about them by this or that class of people, the more we are impressed by the difficulty, and in some cases the impossibility of getting at the essential facts."

Indeed the difficulty of distilling the truth from the mass of materials at our disposal must always be great. But after all, as the Philosopher concludes, "the things that we can be certain of are happily the only things worth knowing." Herbert Spencer however adds, true sociologist that he is, "Through all the petitions, records, despatches, letters, etc., as well as through the laws that remain in force and those that have fallen into abeyance, there

emerge numerous facts which there is no intention of telling—facts concerning the social classes, social organization, social customs, arrangements, changes."

What then is the poor historical student to do? Should he cease to take note of the doings of courts and kings and to study the constitution of governments and confine his attention to what the ladies dine upon? Fortunately our diarists and travellers do not place us in this dilemma. For while talking to us of the high and serious doings of courts and kings, they talk to us also of what the ladies delight in and dine upon. Thus the annalist, the diarist, and the traveller are at one with the poet. *Quiquid agunt homines*, everything done by man falls within their province. They do not consider anything human as alien to their interest, *mentem mortalia tangunt*, for the human heart is touched by mortal things. Only we must not lose sight of the insistent warning suggested by the scientific temper of modern times, when we are turning away from "the imposing tapestry of the literary historian," and declaring in favour of "the drab serge of research"; we must not allow history to merge into poetry.

Before passing from this part of my subject I ought to recall to your mind the brilliant address which Lord Haldane recently delivered as the Creighton lecture of the year under

the title of "The meaning of Truth in History." Says Lord Haldane: "It seems to-day that the genuine historian must be more than a biographer or a recorder. The field of his enquiry cannot be limited by the personality of any single human being, nor can it be occupied by any mere enumeration of details or chronicle of events. A great man, such as Cæsar or Charlemagne, may stand for a period, but his personality is, after all, a feature that is transitory. The spirit of the age is generally greater and more lasting than the spirit of any individual. The spirit of the age is also more than a mere aggregate of the events that period can display, or than any mere sum of individual wills. What, then, is to be the standard of truth for the historian?"

I have no desire to plunge into the intricacies and the subtleties of Lord Haldane's answer to this question. But it is hard to resist the temptation of referring in this connection to that magnificent epilogue to Lessing's Laocoon from the pen of Matthew Arnold, of which we are inevitably reminded by the trend of reasoning in Lord Haldane's discourse. In that Epilogue Matthew Arnold discusses once again the respective functions of the sculptor, the painter, the musician and the poet. We are told that the painter gives us in outward semblance a moment's life of things. His function

is to show the aspect of the moment. The function of the musician is to know the feeling of the moment. But the task of the poet is much more difficult and much more important for he has to speak to us of "life's movement." Hence it is that the truly great poets are so few—but these few are the real interpreters of life. May we not claim this same high privilege, this all-important function on behalf of the historian? For he also speaks to us of life's movement. He must bring before us and interpret to us the spirit of the age of which he speaks. Hence it is that a truly great historian, a Michelet—a Macaulay or a Carlyle—is so rare. But when he comes, his work is ever so much more important than the work of the annalist, the diarist or the Chronicler. Only once again let us remind ourselves of the warning cry uttered by the scientific temper of modern times; we must not allow history to merge into poetry.

May I in this connection be permitted to make just a passing reference to what we are told by two of our old classical teachers, Bacon and Aristotle: Bacon who in his Advancement of Learning elaborates the proposition that "Poetry is nothing else but Feigned History," and Aristotle who teaches us in his Poetics that "the historian and the poet do not differ in using or not using metre—for the writings of Herodotus could be put into metre without being any the

less a history, whether in metre or not—but the difference lies in this fact, that the one tells what has happened and the other what could happen."

I have often been asked by the younger generation of our historical students as to the available sources of information regarding the early British Period of Indian History. My answer has always been that the materials available for examination in this department are simply bewildering in their immensity and complexity, and that the field for study and research which lies practically unexplored in certain directions is almost inexhaustible. Years ago, when the late Sir William Hunter, that versatile Vice-Chancellor of our University, who did so much by his persuasive tongue and gentle eloquence to arouse among the English reading public a general interest in the study of India and of Indian problems, was with us and had just published the first volume of his contemplated *Magnum opus*, I ventured to state in a critical review written for a literary journal of the day—

It appears that Sir William Hunter originally intended to write a history of India from the earliest Aryan period, but this idea had to be given up. If this is due to the loss of the materials and original documents collected by him through a period of a quarter of a century,

posterity shall have reason long to remember with the keenest regret the loss of the ill-fated *Nepal* in which Sir William's papers went down. But out of evil cometh good, and even this compulsory limitation of the field of survey in the present case is not without its collateral advantages. Sir William, we should think, is on firmer ground in the British period. There is no lack of original and in many cases hitherto unused materials here. To speak of the eighteenth century, there are the minutes and correspondence of Lord Cornwallis. Those of Wellesley and of the Duke of Wellington are practically within the reach of all, and these are actually included in the courses of study prescribed for the Modern History School at Oxford. Of the opening days of the British Empire in India—the volumes of selections from the correspondence of the East India Company published with the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, are a perfect storehouse of information regarding matters historical and social. All that is required to build up a monumental and final history of British India out of the materials scattered through the mass of records now made available to the public is the facile pen, the clear discerning judgment, the methodising genius of a tried writer like Sir William. We sincerely hope that the work on which Sir William is now engaged

may give us that final and monumental history of India.

Years ago, again, in another connection, I stated—

In answer to a query put by a literary journal of the day, asking for suggestions as to books which do not exist, but which ought to exist—a gentleman suggests—*A History of Modern India*, beginning from 1850 or 1858--"showing in detailed and scientific form the various improvements, moral and material, that have taken place in India from that period to the present day." A most excellent suggestion this from India's point of view. The sound of the approaching footsteps of *research* is being heard in the highways, as well as the byways of every department of study, and we would fain believe that the magnificent gift of Mr. Tata for the institution of a research institute and for the encouragement of postgraduate studies in India has added fresh force to this general desire among Indian scholars for original investigation. Our own University also, in its desire to keep touch with the general spirit of the age, a few years ago modified its own regulations about the award of Prem Chand Roy Chand studentships. For the holders of these scholarships on the literary side, we cannot conceive of a richer field of investigation and study, than the history of India. And indeed a great deal—a very great

deal still remains to be done—for the history of India even under Queen Victoria. We have had only the other day an excellent monograph on the period. But it is, from its very nature, an introduction rather than an exhaustive treatment. We have again a history of Hindu civilization under British rule from the pen of one of our most accomplished scholars. But this again, a most interesting production in a way, one cannot accept as a full and scientific presentation of the various moral and material improvements that have taken place in India under the rule of our Queen Empress. We thus look upon this suggestion as an eminently practical one, and we devoutly hope that some Indian scholar will be found enterprising enough to undertake the preparation of a book on the lines suggested—a book which does not exist, but which ought to exist.

Since then some more of the treasures of the India Office archives have been thrown open to the general reader. Forrest's collection of State papers relating to the administration of Warren Hastings is already included in our History Curriculum. Our University has recently published in a popular form the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which enquired into the affiairs of the East India Company, and has thus placed that invaluable, indispensable, authoritative review and commentary

practically within the reach of all. That writer who appears before the public under the name of Sydney Grier has annotated and edited for us the Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife, which help us to realise some of the sterling qualities of the administrator who was a living example of *Mens aequa in arduis;* and which throw a flood of light on the life and doings of some of the notable characters of the day. We have had recently the Letters of Lord Dalhousie which help us to realize some of the aims and ideals of that strong-souled ruler and elucidate some of the hitherto unnoticed springs of his action, and throw light on the social life of the period. Sir Alfred Lyall has given us a masterly treatise on the Rise of British Dominion in the East, a monumental work, a real work of genius. Mr. S. C. Hill, whom many of us still remember as an Inspector of Schools and a Professor of English Literature in this province, has added three notable volumes to the Indian Records Series, which series also includes one of the valuable contributions of our late lamented friend Dr. C. R. Wilson. And there are many other notable works whose names will readily occur to all, and which fire the imagination, and tempt the eagerness of the genuine student. But the comprehensive History of India, whose absence I regretted years ago, still remains unwritten. Though much has been

done since to pave and prepare the way for its coming, much still remains to be done. There must be a good deal more of preliminary drawing of water and hewing of wood. My own insignificant attempts are but humble contributions to that end.

So far back as 1872, Dr. Stubbs, the then Regius Professor of History at the University of Oxford, declared in one of his inaugural addresses:—

"We want a permanent chair of Indian History. I say a permanent chair, because that is a subject of permanent necessity, not a subject like Palaeography or Numismatology, in which the labours of one good professor may serve for two or three generations, and the endowment of the man is of equal importance with the endowment of the chair of study."

These words have not lost anything of their force and relevance through lapse of time.

Is it too much to hope that a chair of Indian History may ere long be founded in this city, which is the scene of some of the noblest achievements and triumphs of Job Charnock and of Robert Clive and which is haunted by the memories of Warren Hastings, a chair whose duty it may be to expound in the scientific spirit of the true historian, problems connected with the rise, growth and organization of the British power in India?

The author of that once famous publication—The Company and the Crown—commenting on the life-work of Edmonstone of the North Western Provinces, tells us :—

"It is in such manner that Indian rulers of the second class pass away and are forgotten. A man who for years has governed thirty millions of his fellow-subjects—governed, not in the mild mode of Western civilization by delicate contrivances known as ministers more or less responsible, but by force of individuality and the strength of his own right arm—this man quits the land of his adoption, and returns worn out to find his very name unknown in England. At first perhaps he lives in London, having business now and then to transact with the India Office; but gradually and by degrees even this resource is seen to fail him; he buys a little place in some southern county, to which he retires with books for his companions, and the tolling of a village bell soon makes known that one more weary public servant has found a home at last."

The words I have just quoted which call our attention pointedly to an important fundamental fact, remind us of, and read almost like an echo of, Macaulay's famous peroration—

"I rejoice to see my countrymen, after ruling millions of subjects, after commanding victorious armies, after dictating terms of peace at the gates

of hostile capitals, after administering the revenues of great provinces, after judging the causes of wealthy zemindars, after residing at the courts of tributary Kings, return to their native land with no more than a decent competence."

The present British Indian Empire of which we all are proud to be citizens has been built up in no inconsiderable measure by the labours of public servants of this stamp. May the School of History in this University teach our young historians justly to estimate the value of the services, alike to England and to India, rendered by these empire-builders!

The Early years of the East India Company

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND FELLOW-STUDENTS :

On the threshold of the Seventeenth Century stands many an interesting figure like that of the adventurous and resourceful Pyrard to greet the historical student intent on unravelling the story of India's intercourse with Europe. Similarly with the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, the London East India Company launched out on its fateful career of commercial [illegible] which was destined to end in the [illegible]on of that wondrous creation of the modern political world, the present British Indian Empire. Some special influences must have been at work, some mighty all-pervading forces must have co-operated in those golden days in Europe to call forth this adventurous spirit which led individuals as well as associations of individuals cheerfully to brave the perils of unknown seas and distant journeys. Indeed, since the closing decade of the Sixteenth Century, history was being fast made in Europe

as well as in India. In India, the Seventeenth Century witnessed the fratricidal war of which Bernier speaks to us from firsthand personal knowledge and which sounded the knell of Mogul rule though for the time being the war seemed but to have strengthened its foundations, for the days of Aurangzeb saw the last expiring blaze of its glory and manifestation of its power, the partial realization of the imperialistic dreams which came to the progeny of Baber through the ivory gate.

In reference to this fratricidal war, we may well remind ourselves in passing of what Sir Thomas Roe noted in his journal so far back as 1616. Writing under date October 10, 1616, Sir Thomas notes—"He (the Emperor) nourisheth division and emulation between the brethren (his children) and puteth such power in the hand of the younger, supposing that he can undo it at his pleasure, that the wisest foresee a rending and tearing of these kingdoms by division when the king shall pay the debt to nature, and that all parts will be torn and destroyed by a civil war"—a remarkable anticipation of coming events.

We are again told "the time will come when all in these kingdoms will be in combustion, and a few years' war will not decide the inveterate malice laid up on all parts against a day of vengeance."

In Europe, "the United Provinces had achieved their independence, Philip II had ascended the throne of Portugal and the whole conquests of the Eastern and Western world were brought under a single sceptre."

Selden's doctrine of *Mare Clausum*, which seemed to have been in the ascendant for a time, was soon to give place to the earlier doctrine of *Mare Liberum* which Grotius had put forth, and the Papal Bull which formed the basis of the sovereignty of the Seas claimed by the Portuguese in Eastern regions beyond the Cape of Good Hope was being torn to shreds. As in India Akbar was the living embodiment of the many-sided activity of his age, so in England we have mirrored in Elizabeth all that was best and noblest in English public life in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. We are not at present concerned with all the various aspects of the spirit of the age of Elizabeth. But the commercial ideals which animated her and her contemporary England and the dreams which came to her in this connection, we have admirably pictured for us in a circular letter addressed to Oriental potentates which she had drawn up and which was given as a credential to her chosen and trusted merchant adventurers and to the commanders of the vessels which engaged in the first voyage under the charter incorporating the East India Company.

"As these letters of introduction were general, and the foundation of recommendations, which were afterwards given by the crown, to the persons delegated by the London East India Company to manage their concerns in the countries within their limits, and as they are a model of that wisdom with which Queen Elizabeth directed all the interests of her subjects, the terms in which they were expressed, are interesting." The letter runs—

Elizabethe, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faithe, etc.—To the greate and mightie Kinge of—o^r^ lovinge brother, greetinge :—

Whereas Almightie God, in his infinite wisdome and providence, haith so disposed of his blessings, and of all the good things in this world, which are created and ordeined for the use of man, that however they be brought forthe, and do either originallie growe, and are gathered, or otherwise composed and made, some in one countrie and some in another, yet they are, by the industrie of man, directed by the hand of God, dispersed and sent out into all the ptes of the world, that thereby his wonderful bountie in his creatures may appear unto all nacons, his Divine Ma^tie^ having so ordeyned, that no one place should enjoy (as the native commodities thereof) all things appteninge to man's use, but that one countrie should have nede of another,

and out of the aboundance of the fruits which some region enjoyeth, that the necessities or wants of another should be supplied, by which means, men of severall and farr remote countries have commerce and traffique, one with another, and by their enterchange of commodities are linked togeather in amytie and friendshipp.

This consideracon, most nôble Kinge, togeather with the honorable report of yo^{r} Ma^{te}, for the well enterteyninge of straungers which visitt yo^{r} countrie in love and peace (wth lawful traffique of merchaundizinge) has moved us to geave licence to divers of o^{r} subjects, who have bene stirred upp wth a desire (by a long and daungerous navigacon) to finde out and visitt yo^{r} territories and dominions, beinge famous in theise ptes of the world, and to offer yo^{u} commerce and traffique, in buyinge and enterchaunginge of commodities wth our people, accordinge to the course of merchants; of w^{ch} commerce and enterchaunging, yf yo^{r} Ma^{te} shall accept, and shall receive and entertayne o^{r} merchants with favour, accordinge to that hope w^{ch} hath encouraged them to attempt so long and daungerous a voiadge, you shall finde them a people, in their dealinge and conversacon, of that justice and civilitie, that yo^{u} shall not mislike of their repaire to yo^{r} dominions, and uppon further conference and inquisicon had wth them, both of theire kindes of merchaundize broughte in their

shippes, and of other necessarie commodities w^{ch} o^{r} dominions may afforthe, it may appeare to yo^{r} Ma^{te} that, by their means, you may be furnished, in their next retourne into yo^{r} portes, in better sort then you have bene heretofore supplied, ether by the Spanyard or Portugale, who, of all other nacons in the ptes of Europe, have onlie hetherto frequented yo^{r} countries wth trade of merchaundize, and have bene the onlie impediments both to our subjects, and diverse other merchaunts in the ptes of Europe, that they have not hitherto visited yo^{r} countrie wth trade, whilest the said Portugales pretended themselves to be the soveraigne lordes and princes of all yo^{r} territories, and gave it out that they held yo^{r} nacon and people as subjects to them, and, in their stiles and titles, do write themselves kings of the East-Indies.

And yf yo^{r} Ma^{te} shall, in yo^{r} princelie favour, accept, wth good likinge, this first repaire of our m^{r}chaunts unto yo^{r} countrie, resortinge thether in peaceable treffique, and shall entertaine this their first voiage, as an introduccon to a further continewaunce of friendshipp betweene your Ma^{te} and us, for commerce and intercourse between yo^{r} subjects and ours, wee have geaven order to this, our principall m^{r}chaunt (yf yo^{r} Ma^{te} shall be pleased theawth) to leave in yo^{r} countrie some such of our said merchaunts as he shall make choice of, to reside in yo^{r} dominons,

under your princelie and safe proteccon, untill the retourne of another fleete, w^{ch} wee shall send unto you, who may, in the meane tyme, learne the language of yo^{r} countrie, and applie their behavio^{r}, as it may best sorte, to converse wth your Ma^{tes} subjects, to the end that amitie and friendshipp beinge entertayned and begun, the same may the better be continewed, when our people shall be instructed, how to direct themselves accordinge to the fashions of yo^{r} countrie.

And because, in the consideracon of the enterteyninge of amytie and friendshipp, and in the establishinge of an entercourse to be continewed between us ther may be required, on yo^{r} Ma^{tes} behaulfe, such promise or capitulacons to be pformed by us, w^{ch} wee cannot, in theise our lres, take knowledge of, we therefore pray your Ma^{ie} to geave eare therein unto this bearer, and to geave him creditt, in whatsoever he shall promise or undertake in our name concerninge our amitye and entercourse, w^{ch} promise, wee (for our pte), in the word of a Prince, will see pformed, and wilbe readie gratefullie to requite anie love, kindness, or favour, that our said subjects shall receive at your Ma^{ies} handes; prayinge yo^{r} Ma^{ie}, that, for o^{r} better satisfaccon of yo^{r} kinde acceptaunce of this our love and amytie offered yo^{r} Highness, you would, by this bearer, give testymonie thereof, by yo^{r} princelie

lres, directed unto us, in w^{ch} wee shall receive very great contentement.[1]

The story of the incorporation of the London East India Company is a thrice-told tale, but to every citizen of the British Indian Empire it is a theme of perennial interest, invested with a peculiar sanctity, and its memory is as the hallowed memory of something sacred which the rude gaze of historical investigation or examination hesitates to approach. If that great political mystic of the Eighteenth Century, Edmund Burke, had been with us to-day,—here and now, if anywhere, in the India of the present day in which we live and move and have our being,—he would have found a fit theme for his imagination to work upon and he would have asked us once again, only with greater fervour, to throw a sacred veil over the beginnings of government as he actually did when speaking to us of British rule in India in his day. It is permissible to an Indian student of the present generation to suggest that if Burke had been contemplating not the India of the days of Warren Hastings, but the India during the

[1] Circular letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Kings of Sumatra and other places in the East Indies.

The text here given differs slightly from that in Sir George Birdwood's *First Letter Book of the East India Company*—But the variations are unimportant. Six of these letters were taken out in the first voyage. "They seem to have been in identical terms, with a blank left for the factors to fill in the name of the particular king to whom the letter was to be delivered." *Birdwood.*

Viceroyalty of the present Chancellor of our University, here in the beginnings of the London East India Company, he would have found a thoroughly apposite example of the mysterious virtue attaching to wax and parchment. He would have here recognised the workings of that stupendous wisdom whose disposition is to be found "moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race". For to Burke, as Morley explains in his invaluable monograph, "there actually was an element of mystery in the cohesion of men in societies, in political obedience, in the sanctity of contract; in all that fabric of law and charter and obligation, whether written or unwritten, which is the sheltering bulwark between civilization and barbarism. When reason and history had contributed all that they could to the explanation, it seemed to him as if the vital force, the secret of organisation, the binding framework must still come from the impenetrable regions beyond reasoning and beyond history."

I trust I have succeeded to some extent in conveying to the younger part of my audience my sense of the solemn importance which attaches to the study of the beginnings of the London East India Company, and of the history of India in the Seventeenth Century. The story of the origin and incorporation of the

Company is perhaps best summarised for the young historical student in the earlier chapters of Bruce's Annals. I should not tire your patience by repeating what is there narrated, or by dwelling at length on the difficulties which had to be overcome, the delicate political considerations which weighed with Queen Elizabeth and which made her hesitate, the many petitions, the collection of subscriptions, of information, the putting together of materials, and provisions, the assortment of merchandise, the purchase of the vessels which undertook the first voyage. As you all know,

"The Merchants of London,[1] in the yeare of our Lord 1600 joyned together, and made a stocke of seventie two thousand pounds, to bee imployed in Ships and Merchandizes, for the discovery of a Trade in the East-India, to bring into this Realme, Spices and other Commodities. They bought foure great Ships to bee imployed in this Voyage, the *Dragon*,[2] of the burthen of six hundred tunnes, the *Hector*, of the burthen of three hundred tunnes, the *Ascention*, of the burthen of two hundred tunnes. These ships they furnished with men, victuals and munition for twentie monethes, and sent in them, in Merchandise and Spanish money, to the value

[1] Lancaster's Voyages (Haq Society).

[2] The *Malice Scourge* of the Earl of Cumberland sold to the Company for £3,700.

of seven and twentie thousand pounds. All the rest of their stocke was spent and consumed about the shippes, and other necessaries appertayning to them: with money lent to the Mariners and Saylers before-hand, that went upon the Voyage. The Merchants were Suters to her Majestie, who gave them her friendly Letters of Commendation, written to divers Princes of India, offering to enter into a League of Peace and Amitie with them."

There are, however, two remarkable documents in this connection to which a passing reference should be made. The documents in question were drawn up in course of the preliminaries before the granting of the Charter, and are of the highest interest to the Indian historian, whether he approaches them from the standpoint of history proper or of politics and economics.

To quote the words of a high authority who summarises the situation for us,

"The grant of such a charter would have been an open attack on the pretensions of the King of Spain (as representing Portugal) to an exclusive commerce in the Eastern Seas; and, as Queen Elizabeth was at the time endeavouring to make peace, she was unwilling to introduce a new topic of dispute which might embarrass her negotiations.

The merchants, however, after enumerating the ports and territories which had been in any

way under the influence of the former Government of Portugal, gave a long list of countries to which the Spaniards could make no pretensions, and defied them to show why they should bar her majesty's subjects 'from the use of the vast, wide, and infinitely open ocean sea, and of access to the territories of so many free princes, Kings, and potentates in the East, in whose dominions they have no more sovereign command or authority than we or any Christians whatever.'

The first of my two documents is the memorial[1] here referred to, which the promoters of the London East India Company presented to the Queen and Privy Council. It is to be noticed that the document in question is a full and authoritative and hence thoroughly trustworthy enquiry into the nature of the eastern trading world of the day with all its ports and busy centres of commercial intercourse in reference to its relation to European commercial enterprise.[2] It is thus an all-important document to

[1] The Memorial is headed—"Certayne Reasons, why the English Merchants may trade into the East-Indies, especially to such rich Kingdoms and dominions as are not subjecte to the Kinge of Spayne and Portugal, together with the true limits of the Portugals conquest and jurisdiction in those oriental parts."

[2] The Adventurers presented a memorial to the Queen and Privy Council, describing the countries or parts, to the commerce of which Spain could not pretend an exclusive right; and on the basis of this information, rested their petition for the Queen's licence, or grant, for permission to her subjects to trade to the East-Indies, without involving her in any question which either might postpone, or could prevent the conclusion of the pending treaty between England and Spain. *Bruce*,

all students of history and commerce who would realize for themselves the significance of this steadily growing trade—its exports and imports —the continuous endeavour of the European powers concerned to secure the monopoly of this trade and the conflicting interests which arose therefrom. In the words of Bruce, "As this memorial comprehends more full information on the subject than could have been expected, at this early period of geographical and historical knowledge, it is, in itself, an authenticated view of the grounds upon which the Queen, and the Lords of the Council, listened to the petition of the Adventurers, and forms an interesting link in the annals of East India trade." Obviously Elizabeth was placed in a most difficult position: she could not be expected to take action on a representation like this on her sole responsibility. She would naturally ask for advice and guidance from her trusted counsellors in the matter, and we find that the queen referred the representation to the Right Honorable Faulke Greville. The second of my documents is the Memorandum which Greville drew up in response to this reference. As Bruce puts it, if the memorial of the Adventurers "forms one link in the events which led to the establishment of the London East India Company, the answer of this distinguished person to Sir Francis Walsingham, becomes a second and a most interesting one."

The memorial of the Adventurers and Greville's letter to Sir Francis Walsingham are given in full as Appendices to these Lectures.

Within these walls I must not take the liberty of encroaching on the special domain of my friend the Minto Professor of Economics. I should not presume to dwell on the ideas of the mercantile system which dominated the regulation of commerce and industry in the earlier decades of the Seventeenth Century. It is not perhaps permissible to me to make more than a passing reference to the difference between Regulated and Joint Stock Companies; "Regulated Companies—each member of which though he traded separately on his own capital was bound to observe certain rules which were laid down for all the fellowship—Joint Stock Companies which are single corporations with one capital which the members hold jointly, trading as one individual and subsequently dividing the profits." I merely mention the fact that the East India Company had been founded as a Regulated Company but inevitably changed its form and established the type of Joint Stock Company. As Dr. Cunningham contends, these Companies (Regulated as well as Joint Stock), must have served a useful purpose in their day, or they could not have survived the severe attacks to which they were exposed. Indeed "The benefits which these companies offered

to their members were obvious and highly prized. It was possible for such a body to secure definite privileges, as to tolls and customs for their goods, and a satisfactory status in regard to the recovery of debts and other civil business. Until the Government was able to maintain a consular service in foreign ports there was no other convenient means of securing protection for the persons and property of English merchants in the lands they visited, and the system had immense advantages for placing intercourse with Mahomedan or Pagan territories on a satisfactory footing. The political importance of these institutions declined during the Seventeenth Century, so far as trade with European countries was concerned, but the privileged company, especially the joint-stock company, continued to afford the most convenient form for organising intercourse with half-civilized peoples and far distant trades.

The members benefited, not only because of the improved status which a company could secure for them, but by reason of the facilities it provided for their personal comfort and convenience in the conduct of business."

It is more to my purpose to place before you illustrative evidence of the keen interest which was taken in the regulation of commercial intercourse between the East and the West all through the Seventeenth Century, not merely in

England, but also in Holland, France and Portugal. This evidence is supplied by a highly interesting chapter in Tavernier's Travels, and by that supremely instructive publication entitled *A Discourse of Trade from England into the East Indies* from the pen of T. Mun, better known as the author of *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade.*

Mun writes under the full sway of the mercantilist theory, yet it must be admitted that he approaches the economic problems of his day and the question of Foreign trade with the precision of a scientist, and with a mind not altogether wedded to mercantilism.

The treatise that I speak of, which is to be found printed in full in Purchas, was published in 1621 avowedly in the interest of the East India Company. Mun was a member of the Committee of the East India Company and of the standing commission on trade appointed in 1622, re-appointed in 1625. As Sir George Birdwood puts it—Although these years were "the days of small things" with the Company, the reaction of their narrow operations on the wider history of England was even then apparent, not only in the Parliamentary discussion on monopolies, but in the whole intellectual activity of the time, especially as applied to the consideration of the question of protection or freedom in commerce.

And indeed the history of the Old World has, in brief, been the history of its commerce in the dye stuffs, cloth, and spice, and gold of India ; and it was the fame of the East Indies for their fresh spices, deep toned dyes, bright cloths, and precious stones, and wrought gold and silver, and sumptuary arms, that led Columbus on to the unexpected discovery of the New World of the Americas.[1]

Mun's economic theories, his theory of the Foreign Exchanges let us dismiss from our mind for the present. But the facts and figures which he puts together we may safely accept. These speak to us of the commodities which formed the chief articles of export from the East to the West and *vice versa*. They also summarize for us the popular objections to the operations of the East India Company and thus incidentally illustrate the gradually deepening public interest in the subject of England's intercourse with India. The historical importance of the treatise to which I have ventured to call your attention is thus obviously great and unquestionable.

Indeed Company-making was in the air in those days, and we have ample evidence of the prevalence ef a general desire among the nations of Europe to participate in the profits of the rich Eastern trade.

[1] Birdwood.

The Portuguese Vasco-da-Gama discovered the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, but the Portuguese monopoly, we all know was broken through by the Dutch, who proved themselves formidable rivals, and by the English who were still more formidable though they did not actively appear on the scene till at a some-what later date. As to the French, who under the leadership of Dupleix fought that duel with the English round about Arcot and Wandewash which was not the least instructive of the many interesting episodes of the Seven Years' War, we may partly gather what their feelings were in the matter from Tavernier's dedication of his book of Travels to his Sovereign. We there read-

"I have thought it to be my duty to my country to render an account of my observations upon that which I have seen, and have not been able to excuse myself from making public. I hope, SIRE, that these exact and faithful accounts which I have written, since my return, from the notes which I have collected, will not be less useful to my country than the valuable articles of merchandise which I have brought back from my travels. For my object in this work is not merely to assuage public curiosity. I have proposed for myself a more noble and more elevated aim in all my deeds. As the hope of legitimate gain alone has not made me traverse these regions, so the sole desire of placing

my name in this book has not caused me to-day to have it printed. In all the countries which I have traversed, my strongest desire has always been to make known the heroic qualities of YOUR MAJESTY, and the wonders of your reign, and to show how your subjects excel by their industry and by their courage all other nations of the earth. I venture to say to YOUR MAJESTY that I have done so with more boldness, and even more success, than those who had a title and an authority to speak. My method of action, hostile to deception, and possibly somewhat too free, has exposed me to many risks among the nations jealous of our prosperity, who defame us as far as they can in order to exclude us from trade. I have often risked both my fortune and my life by exalting YOUR MAJESTY by my words above all the monarchs of Europe."

Thus, to exalt the power of his sovereign, to magnify the name and fame of France, to extend her sphere of commercial activity,—these are some of the objects with which the French Traveller avowedly undertook his travels and "six times traversed Turkey, Persia, and the better part of India, and was the first to attempt to go to the famous diamond mines."

This brings me to that chapter in Tavernier's Travels, namely the one concerning the methods to be observed for establishing a new commercial

Company in the East Indies to which I have invited your attention. The chapter is interesting, from the point of view already indicated, that is to say, because of the illustrative evidence it affords of Europe's interest in the regulation of Eastern trade. But it is also interesting because the recommendations which Tavernier makes for the benefit of future promoters of Companies trading to the East Indies are of a highly practical nature. They are the results of his own personal observations and are suggested by the difficulties which he himself experienced in course of his journeys through Mogul India. Here, therefore, we have incidentally a vivid first-hand account of some of the salient features of Factory organization of those days, an account which throws a flood of light on the methods in vogue for the regulation of internal commerce. Before coming to this particular chapter in Tavernier's Travels, partly as an introduction to the information which may be gleaned from it, partly as corroborative evidence testifying to its general trustworthiness, permit me to place the following before you from what our historian Orme, the "British Thucydides," tells us in special reference to the trading operations of the East India Company in Bengal in the 17th Century. Says Orme,—

The profits accruing to Europeans by their trade to Indostan, arise much more from the

commodities which they purchase in that country, than from those which they send thither, and the most valuable part of the cargoes returned to Europe consists of silk and cotton manufactures: the weaver of which, is an Indian, living and working with his wife and several children in a hut, which scarcely affords him shelter from the sun and rain: his natural indolence however is satisfied in procuring by his daily labour, his daily bread; and the dread of extortion or violence from the officers of the district to which he belongs, makes it prudence in him to appear, and to be poor; so that the chapman who sets him to work, finds him destitute of every-thing but his loom, and is therefore obliged to furnish him with money, generally half the value of the cloth he is to make, in order to purchase materials, and to subsist him until his work is finished; the merchant who employs a great number of weavers, is marked by the higher officers of the government, as a man who can afford to forfeit a part of his wealth, and is therefore obliged to pay for protection, the cost of which, and more, he lays upon the manufactures he has to sell, of which, by a combination with other merchants, he always regulates the price, according to the necessity of the purchaser to buy. Now the navigation to India is so very expensive, that nothing can be more detrimental to this trade than long protractions of the voyage;

and loss instead of profit, would ensue, if ships were sent on the expectation of buying cargoes on their arrival; for either they would not find these cargoes provided, and must wait for them at a great expence; or if ready, would be obliged to purchase them too dearly. Hence has arisen the necessity of establishing factories in the country, that the agents may have time and opportunity to provide, before the arrival of the ships, the cargoes intended to be returned in them.

After stating that any nation desirous of establishing a commercial Company in the East Indies "ought before all things to secure a good station in the country in order to be in a position to refit the ships,[1] and to lay them by during the seasons when one is unable to go to sea" and that "this want of a good harbour was the reason why the English Company had not progressed so well as it might have done, because it is impossible that a vessel can last for two years without being refitted, being subject to be eaten by worms," Tavernier goes on to explain that "since the journey from Europe to the East Indies is long, it is desirable that the Company should have some place at the Cape of Good

[1] *Cf.* "If His Highness would be pleased to give us a river and town to fortify in for a retreat for our shipping in foul weather, we would always keep such a strength as should secure the Coast on all occasions."

Journal of Sir Thomas Roe, October 14, 1616.

Hope for watering and obtaining supplies of food, both when going and returning from the Indies."

Till the other day, students of history would have justifiably regarded this recommendation as a suggestion which has only an antiquarian or a speculative interest. But the utility of intermediate halting stations on the route to India which may be used for coaling and watering purposes—as also the dangers inherent in strong fortified posts in the possession of hostile powers have been forced on our attention by the recent fate of the *City of Winchester* and other events of the present European War in course of which at least one of the belligerent powers seems to have forgotten for the time being that Europe is the inheritor and hence the custodian of an ancient culture and civilisation, and that she still professes to believe in the Commandments of a Book which is mightier than swords and bloated armaments, and which teaches the lesson that it is righteousness which exalteth a nation.

Our Traveller goes on further to explain that.

"After the establishment of such a position, which should be the principal basis of the trade of the Company, there is nothing more important than to select two men, marked by their wisdom, rectitude, and intelligence in trade, and there should be no regard for economy in their appointments. These two men are for the service of the Company, one in the position of Commandant or

Commander, as the Dutch entitle them, with a council of a certain number of persons to be given him for his assistance, the other for the office of broker or merchant, who should be a native of the country, an idolater and not a Muhammadan, because all the workmen with whom he will have to do are idolaters. Good manners and probity at first are above all things necessary in order to acquire confidence among these people. It is necessary to seek to obtain the same qualities in the private brokers, who are under the direction of the Broker-general, in the provinces where the offices of correspondents are established.

Intelligence is not less necssary for these two men, in order that they may detect any adulteration in the manufacture of the goods. It arises, either from the wickedness of the workmen and merchants or from the connivance of the sub-brokers with them. This adulteration may cause so much injury to the Company that private brokers profit by it sometimes from 10 to 12 per cent. If the Commander and the Broker-general connive together, it is very difficult for the Company to guard against this fraud, but if they are both faithful and wise, it will be easy to remedy it by changing the private brokers.

The unfaithfulness which these officers are able to commit against the Company is this. When a vessel arrives in port, the letters of the Company and the bills of lading are handed to him who commands on shore for the particular nation. This Commander assembles his Council, and sends for the broker and gives him a copy of the bill of lading.

The broker communicates it to two or three of the merchants who are in the habit of buying wholesale. If the broker and the Commander connive together to profit,

the broker, instead of expediting the sale as he ought, tells these merchants privately that they have only to keep firm and offer such a price.

Then the Commander sends for the broker and these two or three merchants. He asks them in the presence of his Council what they offer for the goods mentioned in the bills of lading which have been communicated to them. If the merehants persist in saying that they will only give so much, the Commander postpones the sale for fifteen days, more or less, according as he has reason for being pressed to sell. He causes these merchants to come many times, merely for the look of the thing, and he then takes the advice of the Council in order to save appearances, and for his own protection, after which he orders the goods he sold at the merchants' prices.

But although the temptation is great for these two officers, on account of their power, the frequent opportunities and the absence of their superiors from whom it is easy to conceal the truth, the Company is able, besides, by making a careful selection of these two persons, to remedy this disorder by removing the pretext which the Dutch Commanders and brokers urge, which is that they are constrained to sell quickly to the merchants wholesale, to avoid the costs of delay.

The fault which the Dutch make is, that their officers order to be made on credit from year to year all the goods which they wish to export from the Mogul Empire, according to the instructions they have received from BATAVIA".

Hence Tavernier urges that the Company's vessels should carry money for the advances to the artisans who work in the provinces, and for a part of the price of the goods which are being

made for the following year. The Company by making this advance will not pay the high interest on the loan, namely 12 to 15 per cent. which the Dutch pay, it will have the very best goods and at the best price. All the artisans will work more willingly for it on account of this ready money. The cargo of the vessels will be in readiness before they arrive in port. Being quickly laden they will be able to seize the good season for their return.

We are then told that

"One of the most important observations that is to be made on the commerce of the proposed Company and the discipline of its factors is this : It should forbid the merchants, sub-merchants, the scribes and subscribes, who serve under the Commanders and the brokers, and also those superior officers, from doing any trade on their own private accounts, and obtaining by the correspondence from the other factories information as to the articles of merchandise which will be sent for sale in the following year, they do not fail to purchase them on their own account, and ship them on the vessels of the Company to the address of their correspondents, who share the gain therefrom. The Commander being himself interested, either by closing his eyes, or by too great laxity permit them to make this profit on account of their poor salaries."

"It is necessary to establish in the principal factory a *fiscal counsellor* to act in the name of the King and by his authority. He should be independent of the general of the Company in order that he may have the right to keep an eye upon his actions as upon those of the least of

the officers. A man of position is required for this post who will be resolute and watchful and who has under him a representative at each factory. Provided always that this officer is vigilant and a man of integrity, he will be able to render considerable service to the Company."

Tavernier openly suggests that if the English had established such an officer in their factories they would have had greater profit.

And last of all

"The injunction against private trade cannot be too strictly imposed. It is observed today with so much strictness amongst the Dutch that when a vessel of the Company is ready to leave Amsterdam, a Burgomaster administers to the Captain and all on board a solemn oath that they will content themselves with their wages, two months' of which are given in advance, and that they will not trade on their own account, but the conduct of the Company in respect to their wages compels them, inspite of their oath, to aid themselves by secret traffic to subsist while in their employment.

"This is the artifice which they make use of to satisfy their conscience. When they have arrived in India, and see themselves in the way of obtaining some good employment, they marry as quickly as possible, and trade secretly in their wives' names: this is not always permitted. And they imagine that in this way their conscience is relieved."

What then are the outsanding features of the trading world which Tavernier incidentally pictures for us in course of his speculations?

That which first attracts our attention in this picture is the natural result of the low salaries paid to their employees in India by the European Trading Company, Dutch as well as English, the inadequate remuneration of all descriptions of persons and grades of officers, the constant endeavour in consequence on their part to eke out their income by carrying on unlicensed private trade,[1] the tacit understanding which existed between commanders of vessels and the Campany's agents on shore, the winking of the higher officials at the doings of the subordinate instruments; the understanding between the Mogul customers and other officials and the agents of the Company. Then again we realise how the precious metals, Gold and Silver, were brought over in bullion and then coined in the Mogul mints[2]: how advances were made to the Indian producers and manufacturers, how the

[1] In this connection we may remind ourselves of what Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the East India Company in 1616. "Concerning private trade my opinion is, you absolutely prohibit it and execute forfeiture, for your business will be the better done. All your loss is not in the goods brought home. I see here the inconveniences you think not of. I know this is harsh to all men—and seems hard. Men profess they come not out for bere wages. You shall take away the plea if you resolve to give very good to men's content. Then you know what you part from. But you must make good choice of your servants and use fewer."

[2] The coyne or bullion brought thither is presently melted, and refined and then the Mogul's Stamp (which is his name and title in Persian letters) put upon it.

Edward Terry.

commodities were purchased and stocked in anticipation for export to Europe, how they were brought over from the interior to the exporting sea-ports and sometimes looted *en route*, what was the system of inspection adopted by the Custom house officials and the duties exacted by them, how capital had sometimes to be raised and interest paid at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum or at an even higher rate. I invite a comparison of the state of things thus revealed with the inferences suggested by that body of thirty-five articles of grievances which President Child drew up against the Mogul administration of his day. These articles are only referred to in Bruce's Annals, but given in full in Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies.* Hamilton, as is well known, is unfriendly to the East India Company. He is in fact a hostile witness, being an interloper himself. These articles he quotes in connection with his attempt to draw up a general indictment against President Child's administration. That indictment does not concern us at present. I am anxious to direct attention to the inwardness of the situation revealed by these articles as far as the methods for the conduct and regulation of Commerce in those days are concerned. I give here the thirty-five articles as they all have a more or less direct bearing on the subject under reference:

"I. Last Year a Ship of *Molah Abdel Gafoar's*[1] coming from *Juddah*, in her Return met with two *Danish* Pirates, who made a Prize of her. The News coming to *Surat*, the said *Molah Abdel Gafoar*, by perswasions of *Meir Nazam*, and other Merchants, made their Complaints to *Salabat Caun* (then Governor) and other Officers of *Surat*, saying, the *English* belonging to *Surat*, had taken his Ship, at the same Time sending his Attorney to Court to complain to the King, who ordered the Governor, &c., Officers of *Surat*, to enquire into it, and do Justice accordingly. In this Affair, by Bribry, and disgracing me to the King and his Subjects, as also the *Dutch*, *French*, and other Nations, making them believe it to be true, for which Disgrace I am not able to trade in these Parts; but I hope the Disgrace will light on him, that hereafter no such Scandal may be put on me, or any other, we having traded here these 80 or

[1] The interlopers made prizes of ships belonging to the native powers and left the Company's servants and factories to suffer for their buccaneering misdeeds. Thus a general infamy settled down on the English character to which the Dutch cheerfully contributed. At last in September, 1695, the Company's whole trade in Western India was brought to a standstill, and their servants at Surat and Broach confronted by a fearful death from the rage and fury of the populace. An English pirate plundered a ship belonging to Abdul Gofar, one of the principal merchants of Surat. The Governor who had hitherto behaved in a friendly manner, placed a guard on the Company's house to prevent its being plundered and the servants massacred by the infuriated populace, for a crime which they had not committed, but denied in vain. At this delicate juncture news came that a far graver offence had been wrought by the same hand. A pilgrim ship belonging to the Mogul had been plundered and the pilgrims robbed and maltreated. The first exploit was deeply resented, but the second was sacrilege in the eyes of the Mahomedans. The luckless President and all his companions were seized and put in irons to save them from being torn in pieces by the infuriated inhabitants.

Beckles Willson.

90 Years, but never before accused as robbers but daily enriched the Port of *Surat*.

II. The Complaints of *Mulah Abdel Gafoar* have been much to my Prejudice, by reason I could not clear my Money out of the Custom-house, nor ship my Goods for *Europe*, which were seized and hindred, which hath made me leave the Port and Trading, and retire to *Bombay*. I have by me 30 or 40 Lack of Rupees in Money and Goods in a Readiness; if you please to send any Body, you may be certified of the Truth. Consider the Loss I am at in the Use of my Money, Damage of my Goods, and detaining my Ships à Year. I desire your Answer.

III. *Mulah Abdel Gafoar's* disgracing me, makes People afraid to trust me, my Credit being lost by his false Reports, having 12 Ships laden with Goods, which I designed to have sent to *Surat*, there to have provided Goods, and relade for *Europe*, but his disgracing me is the Occasion of the great Charges I am at, my Ships wintering in these Parts, and my Goods lying on my Hands, we Merchants trading for Profit, which Hindrance hath not only been a great Loss to the King in his Customs, but to me, which I must answer to my Masters.

IV. Mr. *Petit* and Mr. *Boucher*, being indebted to the Company several Sums of Money, I would have called them to account for the same, but they, like Traitors, went to the Governor *Cortalab Caun* for Protection. As for Mr. *Petit* he is dead, and gone to the Devil. Mr. *Boucher* still remains at *Surat*. I demand him, his Wife, Child, or Children, Family, and all *English* Men belonging to him, with their Effects, that they be delivered to me, and that he may not make his Escape from *Surat*.

V. Formerly such Goods as we brought from the *Malabar* Coast, *Mocha*, and other Parts, which were for

Europe, and not to sell here, we had Liberty to bring them ashore at *Swally*, to clean them, and ship again, without paying Custom, but the Governor *Cortalab Caun*, in his Time, forced us to pay Custom for those Goods. My Demand is, that what he took more than the former Customs, may be restored, and he do not the like again.

VI. Of late Years we bring more Money than formerly, which hath much enricht the Port, of which the Governor did acquaint the King, who was pleased to take no more than 2 *per Cent.* we paying no more for many Years. Of late the Governor of *Surat* did write to the King, to make us pay three and one half *per Cent.* for Money as well as Goods, which has been a great Prejudice to our Trade. My Desire is, that we may pay no more than formerly, and that the former Overplus may be repaid. Which Exactings made *Salabat Caun* over-rate our Goods in the Custom-house, to our great Damage.

VII. Formerly we never paid Custom for Apparel or Provisions, but of late *Salabat Caun* forced us to pay Custom for them. My Desire is that may be repaid, and, for the future, no more Trouble on that Account.

VIII. When our Goods came out of the Country, if robbed by Thieves or otherwise on the Road, it is the King's Order, that the Governors and Officers make good all Damages, or else the King to satisfy us himself. Few Years since our Goods coming from *Amadabant* and *Durringum*, were robbed in the Way to *Surat*. We have petitioned the Governor of *Surat* for Satisfaction, but never obtained any. My Desire is, that the King order Satisfaction to be made for the Loss we sustained, being great and considerable.

IX. Several of the Natives are indebted to us, of whom we can get no Satisfaction, having several Times

made Complaints to the Governors, where they reside, for the Assistance, but, as yet, could have no Redress from them. Our Desire is, that all Governors and their Officers may be assistant to us in recovering our Debts.

X. We bring more Treasure into the Country than any other Nation, which is carried to the Custom-house, when cleared from thence, we send it to the Mint to be coined, but the Officers, for their own Interest, delay the Coining, to the Hindrance of the Dispatching our Business, for, if our Cash was coined in Time, we could have our Investments out of the Country, and lade our Ships according to the Monsoons or Season of the Year. Our Request is, that, for the future, the Coiners may not delay the Coining, and that our Treasure may be coined apart, for its more speedy Performance.

XI. At the Arival of our Ships, when unladen, we carry our Goods to the Custom-house, where they are thrown up and down very carelessly, where they are broken, damaged and stolen. Our Request is, that we may have a Ware-house apart by that of the *Dutch*, to put our Goods in, that we may be no farther Sufferers, that, when we dispose of our Goods, or send them to our Factory, that the Customer take Account of the King's Customs, clearing them without further Molestation.

XII. Formerly when we cleared our Treasure, &c., Goods from the Custom-house, we used to make up the Account of our Customs at the latter End of the Year, and then paid it. Of late Years the Officers of the Custom-house daily and monthly send to our Broker, demanding the Custom, for which Reason we are forced to see the Officers not to affront our Broker, which has been much to our Prejudice. Our Request is, that they demand not the Customs till the End of the Year, as formerly accustomary.

XIII. When *Gassadean Caun* was Governor of *Surat*, by Order of the King, the City was walled, at which Time we had a Garden near *Brampore* Gate, about which we built 34 Shops, Stables for Horses, a Summer-house, and several other convenient Places, all firm Buildings, which cost to the Amount of 25,000 Rupees, when the Wall came near our Garden, our Buildings were broke down, and our Garden spoiled. We petitioned the Governor for Satisfaction, he promised to allow us the Charges out of the King's Treasury, but we have not received any Satisfaction. We demand Satisfaction for the said Charges.

XIV. Formerly When our Goods came from other Parts to Surat, we paid no more than due Custom, and shipped them for Europe, or other Places, without any farther Trouble. Of late Years the Officers of those Places, from whence our Goods come, put us to much Trouble in demanding the Governor's and Officers of *Surat's* Receipts of us, and many Times detain our Goods on that Account, by which their Proceedings our Ships sometimes return empty, and sometimes are forced to remain in the Country which is a great Loss to the King in his Customs, as well as to us. Our Request is, that, for the future, such Receipts may not be demanded of us, but that we may have the same Liberty as formerly.

XV. When our Goods are in a Readiness, we send them to the accustomed Place to be *shopt*, with a true Invoice of the Contents of the Bales. Formerly they used to make Choice of one or two Bales, and if they found them according to Invoice, then to shop and clear the rest without any farther Trouble. Of late the Customer, &c., Officers, for their Interest, and to delay Time, open most of our Goods, which is not only a great Charge to us in repacking our Goods, but also our Goods are damaged. Our Desire is, that they may be shopt and shipt

according to Invoice, without any farther Trouble, as accustomary.

XVI. Our Sloops and Boats coming from *Swally* to the Custom house, the *Meerbar* used to search them, if empty, cleared them, without any farther Trouble. Of late Years the *Meerbar*, &c. Officers will not clear them in three or four Days, which is a great Hindrance to us in the Dispatch of our Business. Our desire is, they may be searcht and cleared as formerly, without Delay.

XVII. Sometimes Merchants that buy our Goods, break, plead Poverty, that they have not wherewithal to pay us, applying ourselves to the Governor, &c. Officers for Justice, and their Assistance, we can have no Redress. Our Desire is, either that the Governor, &c. Officers order Payment to be made, or to satisfy us out of the King's Customs, that we may be no longer Sufferers by his Subjects.

XVIII. Sometimes we send our Brokers or Servants to the Governor &c. Officers, as our Affairs require, who cannot be admitted without bribing the Servants of said Governor, &c. Officers. We desire it may be remedied for the future.

XIX. Our Horses that come from *Persia*, *Bassora*, &c. at their Arrival we used to send them to our Stables, without further Delay. Of late Years at their landing are carried to the Governor, his Seal put about their Necks, and ourselves not trusted to use or dispose of them. Our Desire is, that we may either ride them, or dispose of them as formerly.

XX. The Governor, &c. Officers often send to us for broad Cloth, Sword-blades, &c. in Civility we cannot deny them, but when we send for the Money, they deny the Payment, and abuse our Servants, by which we are Sufferers. Our Desire is, that, for the future, if the

Governor, &c. Officers desire any Goods, they may pay for them before they carry them away.

XXI. Goods provided at *Agra*, *Amadabant*, &c. coming to *Baroach*, the Governor forces us to pay 18 *per Mill.* Custom, which is contrary to the King's Order, for we ought to pay but in one Place as the *Moors* and *Banyans*. Our Desire is to be cleared of that Custom, that at the Arrival of our Goods at *Surat*, they may be sent for out abroad without farther Trouble, paying the King his due Custom. We desire the same Goods shipt at *Baroach*, *Cambay*, &c. that our Ships may not lose their Passage to Europe.

XXII. At the Arrival of our *European* Ships, we send our Goods to the Custom-house, when cleared, carry them to the Factory, sometimes we have present Vend, and sometimes we send them to other Places, as we think convenient, and for our Interest, in case we send our Goods to any other Place, within the Term of six Months, then to pay half Custom for the said Goods, but, if kept a full Year, then to pay full Custom. Sometimes we send to *Swally* more Goods than will lade our Ships, the Remainder we dare not keep there, for Fear of Fire or Thieves. Our Request is, that for all such Goods as have paid Custom, we may freely bring them to *Surat*, keep them there for our next Shipping, and ship them off without farther Trouble or Demands.

XXIII. Our Servants, *English*, *Gentows*, and others, many Times we send up the Country, for the speedier Dispatching of our Affairs. When we send to them for our Accounts, being at a Distance, and out of our Reach, like to Mr. *Petit* and Mr. *Boucher* they go to the Governors for Protection, by which Means we cannot call them to an Account, to our great Loss, and farther proceeding against them. Our Request is, that whatever *English*

Man, employed in your Service, without our Leave and Discharge, that they, with their Effects and Estates, be delivered to us, that they may not be protected, but that we may proceed against them, as we think convenient.

XXIV. It is near 90 Years that we have traded there. At our first Coming, the King granted us a Piece of Ground for a *Bunder* to repair our Ships and Vessels. Of late Years *Meer Nassam* hath forced it from us, and made it a Garden. We are destitute of a Place for repairing our Vessels, and other Conveniencies. Our Request is, that we may have the same Ground as formerly, or some other near the Water Side, fitting our Occasions.

XXV. Formerly we used to pay for each Bale of Indigo, two and an half Rupees *per* Bale, without opening it. Of late Years the Officers open it, valuing it at their Pleasure, damaging the Goods, which is a great Loss and Charge to us in repacking it. Our Desire is, that, for the future, it may not be opened, paying the Custom as formerly.

XXVI. The Governor, &c. Officers buy of us, for the King's Account, Iron, Guns, Lead, giving us some Money in Hand. When they are turned out, and others come, when we demand the Remainder, they delay the Payment of the Money, saying the King did not want our Goods, that we may take them again, sometimes after they have kept them one or two Years. Our Request is, that whatever they buy of us for the King's Account, we may be paid before they take them from us, and whatever Goods we have that the King has no Occasion for, we may dispose of them at our Pleasure.

XXVII. As to the Island of *Bombay*, it produceth no Corn. The *Mogul's* Fleet often winters there, which makes Provisions scarce and dear. We are in Want of Supplies from *Surat*, and other the *Mogul's* Ports.

When we send to these Places, the said Governor and Officers will not let us have any without giving them one and one Fourth *per Cent.* Our Request is, to be free of this Tax, that we may have Liberty of sending what is necessary for Supply of the King's People and said Island.

XXVIII. A Ship, with her Cargo, to the Amount of 254000 Rupees, came out of *England* without our King's Licence, which came to Surat. Our King's Orders came to us to seize Ship and Cargo, which accordingly we did, but *Salabat Caun* then being Governor, forced her from us, and delivered her to Mr. *Boucher.* Our Desire is, the said Ship may be re-delivered us, that Mr. *Boucher* and his Broker give us a just and true Account of the Remainder of the Cargo, and that the Governor take Care it be not squandered away by them.

XXIX. 'T is the King's Grant, that Merchants pay but one Custom for their Goods, without farther Molestation, and, when they pay it, to take a Discharge. Of late Years, the Officers have forced us to pay double Custom, besides their Perquisites which they have demanded, which has been a great Hindrance to the timely Arrival of our Goods. We desire we may not be forced to pay more than accustomary.

XXX. We formerly rented a Piece of Ground for Stables, on which we were at considerable Charges, in building and Reparations. *Meer Nassam,* by buying it, deprived us of it. We desire he may satisfy us the said Charges.

XXXI. Some Years since we lost an Anchor at the River's Mouth which *Mirza Mossum's* People took up. We have often demanded it, offering to defray the Charges he was at, but cannot get it. Our Request is, that his Son *Mirza Mahomud Araff* deliver the same, we paying the Charges they were at.

XXXII. At the Arrival of our Ships, they send the Boat up with News. At the Custom-house they stop her a whole Day before they will let our People come ashore with Letters, which is a great Impediment to our Affairs. Our Request is, that they may not be hindred for the future, but suffered to land as soon as they come to the Custom-house.

XXXIII. As concerning my *Bengal*, we hear several Ships have been taken and burnt, in which Affair we are not concerned, neither do we know whether Peace be concluded there or not. Our Request is, that the King issue out his Orders, that no Person question us, or make Demands on us on that Account.

XXXIV. Some Years ago the *Sedee*, with the King's Fleet, wintered at *Bombay*, in which Time some of his People murdered two of our *English* Men, which made our Men resolutely resolve to revenge their Death, but, with great Perswasions were pacified, being promised Satisfaction. We acquainted the Governor of it, who ordered the Murderers to be imprisoned, but three Days after, they were cleared by the *Sedee*. Our Request is, they may be delivered, that we may prosecute them and that Justice may be done.

XXXV. When we are minded to take our Pleasure out of the City, altho' we return before the usual Time of shutting the Gates, the Porters shut them against us, demanding Money before they will let us enter the City. Our Request is, that Order be given by the Governor, that we be no more affronted by those People.[1]

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[1] About the latter end of the year 1687, the General laid down a complaint and grievance before the Governor of Surat, and demanded redress and satisfaction. The articles of his grievances I saw in a printed copy.

Hamilton.

In the pages of that most interesting of Mahomedan historians, who is known to his readers by the name of Khafi Khan, is to be found a vivid account of the historian's visit to the English in Bombay during the reign of Aurangzeb when the island had passed into the hands of the East India Company. There is little reason to doubt the accuracy of the author's account or the correctness of the English garb in which it appears before us in Professor Dowson's version. I conclude today by placing the whole of this account[1] before you without contraction or suppression of details, as it helps us to realise some of the salient features of those troublous times which preceded the disintegration of the Mogul Empire and whose memory is called up before us by the articles of grievances[2] which

[1] *Vide* Appendix A.

[2] Cozee Ibrahim and Dungee Vorah, two eminent Surat merchants, were sent to Bombay, to treat with the General:—in reply Sir John Child transmitted to the Governor of Surat, by those merchants a statement of grievances sustained by the English from the Governors of Surat, comprised in thirty five articles, prefaced with the observation, that reparation was only asked for the injury done to the character of the English, who had been represented as having committed depredation on the Mogul subjects, inconsistent with the probity of their dealings; Satisfaction was therefore required for the losses sustained, by their goods being stopped at the custom house; their investments obstructed; their payment of interest, to the amount of a lack of rupees; the demorage of twelve ships detained in the Indies; the refusing to deliver up the interlopers and their ships; the stoppage of goods, and exaction of duties on them; the raising the customs, from two per cent., (as fixed by the King's Phirmaund) to three and a half per cent., the prohibiting the import and export of provisions

President Child drew up against the Mogul administration.

How pale and colourless by the side of this vigorous narrative is Manucci's gossipy account of Aurangzeb's decision not to build a navy, which also I append[1] !

Khafi Khan, it will be observed, begins his narrative with a reference to the capture of a Royal Ship by piratical Franks. He goes on to give us a vivid account of his reception by the English at Bombay and concludes with references to the financial resources of the island, and to the piratical operations of the Mahrattas.

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the refusing the Company permission to collect their debts, to coin money, and to clear their custom house accounts; the imposing annually arbitrary taxes on goods, in their transit to Surat, and searching their boats coming from Swaley; and the seizing horses and goods, for the king's use, without paying for them; concluding with a requisition, that liberty should be given to the English, to have free passage to and from Surat, without being examined or detained.

Bruce.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B.

[2] This was the work of the notorious pirate—Henry Avery.

"We understand by a youth that is lately come to London who went out in the *Charles* alias *Fancy* that Everyes Company consisted of 52 French, 14 Danes, the rest English, Scotch and Irish had pillaged several Danish Ships on the coast of Guiney * * * * besides their robberies and villainous practices on the *Gonsway* and other ships in the Red Sea belonging to the subjects of the Great Mogul which we cannot think of without astonishment and detestation being highly sensible of the sad circumstances our President and Council and Factors at Surat are under on this occasion and the evil consequences that may happen to our affairs there."

The Court to our General and Council in India

August 7, 1696.

Manucci also begins with a similar reference to the capture of a pilgrim vessel and the consequent determination on the part of the Mogul administration to strengthen the naval forces of the Empire, and concludes with the statement to which I have invited attention.

Early English Voyages to the East Indies



MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND FELLOW-STUDENTS:

"Apologies very often call Truth into question. Having therefore nothing for to countenance these my rude Relations but the certaintie of them, I omit all unnecessarie introductions: using no further Preface then this, that the Reader would undoubtedly beleeve, what the Relator doth most faithfully deliver."

In that company of pilgrims who are made to pass before us in solemn procession in the pages of Haqluitus Posthumus, decked in antique finery and quaint attire, are to be found a number of little noticed but highly interesting figures. Of these minor personages Edward Terry, Master of Arts and student of Christ Church in Oxford, is one of the most interesting. He begins his narrative with the words I have just quoted. I desire to follow the example set by Master Edward Terry and begin my present discourse, omitting all unnecessary introductions, for, as we are told, "apologies very often call Truth into question."

It would be a mistake to think that English voyages to the East began with the incorporation of the London East India Company. As a matter of fact many an English voyager tempted the perils of the journey to the East Indies and excited public curiosity with narratives of their rich experiences before the patent of incorporation could be secured by Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland, whose image, "hairy and hatted," adorns the walls of the Bodlein at Oxford, though it is no doubt correct to say that English trade directly with India is hardly heard of till the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth when the Charter was granted to the Merchant Adventurers trading to the East Indies for fifteen years revocable at pleasure on two years' notice being given under the Privy Seal. I need not tire your patience by repeating the list of names of such voyagers to be found in the pages of Purchas "as Sighelmus, Bishop of Shire-berne, sent by that famous and religious King Alfred, to Saint Thomas his Sepulchre in India, whence hee brought precious spices and jewels, Anno 883, twice recorded by William of Malmesbury, as likewise a certaine Englishman mentioned by Matthew Paris, Anno 1243, which travelled the East part of the world with the Tartars in their famous expeditions." Let us not linger over the experiences of John Newberry and Ralph Fitch of whom I have already spoken on another occa-

sion. I pass over further that rather unfortunate expedition of three vessels in 1591 under Raymond and Lancaster. I also pass over the capture in 1592, the succeeding year, of the great Portuguese Carrack, the Madre de Dios and her Notable Register and Matricola of the whole government and trade of the Portuguese in the East Indies, which became in fact "the Prospectus" of the first English East India Company, and which undoubtedly gave a vigorous impulse to English enterprise.

But the record of the experiences of one of the early pioneers belonging to the Elizabethan era deserves special notice in the present course of lectures. I refer to John Mildenhall of London, Merchant, who undertook a voyage from London to the East Indies, in the good ship called Hector of London, Richard Parsons being Master, which carried a present to the Grand Seigneur in the same voyage. He started on his journey in 1599, *i.e.*, about the beginning of our period of study. He visited Agra and Delhi in 1603, when the illustrious Akbar was the reigning monarch. The difficulties he encountered, the obstacles and rivalries and intrigues he had to overcome are but typical of the experiences of later ambassadors like Sir Thomas Roe in days when the reins of government had passed from the resolute hand of Akbar into the weaker hands of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

Moreover, John Mildenhall appears to have been the first Englishman who secured certain trading privileges as he tells us "to the profit of his nation," from the Great Mogul, though the Firman embodying these privileges has not come down to us, probably because during his sojourn in India the London East India Company had already been incorporated. The relevant portions of Mildenhall's narrative which are contained in his second letter to Richard Staper written from Persia on the third day of October 1606, brief, plain and unvarnished as the narrative is, I am able to place before you. As will be seen from this narrative, he was most graciously received by the Emperor to whom he presented a *Nazur* of 29 fine horses and some jewellery. But he met with considerable opposition from the intrigues of the Jesuits, particularly the Italians, of whose enmity he bitterly complains. He soon realised that he could do nothing because of his ignorance of the language of the country. Hence he studied hard and made himself sufficiently master of the Persian tongue, by which he found means to ingratiate himself into the favour of the Great Mogul and at last obtained large privileges, much to his satisfaction.

Speaking of the events of the year 1614, Orme thus summarises the available information regarding John Mildenhall, whom, it will be

observed, he distinguishes as "a name of earlier note in the resort to India."

The occasion which called Withington to Agra, was the death of John Mildenall, a name of earlier note in the resort to India. He was bred a merchant and was employed whilst the establishment of the company was under adjustment, to bear a letter from queen Elizabeth to the Mogul, Akbar, requesting the freedom of trade in his dominions. He left Aleppo in July 1600, but did not arrive at Agra until the year 1603, where he was much thwarted by the friars; but after a residence of three years, obtained a phirmaund, Akbar being dead, from Jehangir, with which he returned as he came, through Persia, and was at Casbin in October 1606. The advices of his success, we suppose, promoted the mission of Captain Hawkins, who sailed for Surat in March 1607; at which time Mildenall might not have been arrived in England. The rest of his story is very obscure. He returned to Persia if not before, in 1610, with some commission, in which two others, young men, were joined; whom it is said he poisoned, in order to embezzle the effects committed to their common charge, with which he repaired to Agra, where he turned Roman Catholic, and died himself of poison, leaving all he possessed to a Frenchman, whose daughter he intended to marry. Mr. Kerridge was at that time the resident at Agra; but being constantly occupied in attendance on the Court, sent for Withington to collect the effects left by Mildenall; of which to the amount of 20,000 dollars were recovered, in conformity to the exemptions allowed in the phirmaund granted to Captain Best.

Orme's reference to Nicholas Withington recalls to our mind that Nicholas was left a Factor in the Mogul's country by Captain Best,

and leads us to think of the extracts from a Tractate given by Purchas in which Withington speaks of his adventures and travels therein. I place before you the portion relating to John Mildenall together with the extraneous matter in it because of the wider general interest which attaches to the information thus supplied, and the light which it throws on the state of the country and the life of the people.

John Mildenall, an Englishman had been employed with three English young men, which he poisoned in Persia to make himself master of the goods, but he was likewise poisoned, yet by preservatives lived many months after, but swelled exceedingly, and so came to Agra with the value of twenty thousand dollars. Thither therefore I went May the 4th 1614 from Surat: Came to Bramport where Sultan Parviz lies situate in a plain the river of Surat running by in a great breadth, having a large castle. Hence to Agra twentysix days. Between Surat and Agra are seven hundred courses, 1010 English miles, which I travelled in seven and thirty days in winter, wherein it almost continually rains. From Surat to Bramport is a pleasant champion country, full of rivers, brooks and springs. Between Bramport and Agra very mountainous, not possible for a coach, hardly for camels. By Mando is the nearest way. There are high hills and strong castles in the way many, towns and cities every days journey, well inhabited, the country peaceable, and clear of thieves.

A piece of contemporary evidence—well worth noting.

Mildenall had given all to a Frenchman, to marry his bastard daughter in Persia, and bring up another. The jesuits have a very church built by the king, and a house; the king allows the chief seven Rupias a day, and the rest three with license to convert as many as they can, which they do, but alas it is for money's sake. For when by the tact of the Portugals, they were debarred of their pay, their new converts brought them their beads again, saying they had been long without their pay, and therefore would be christians no longer.

The Portugals not delivering the goods taken in Surat, the king caused the church doors to be locked up, as they have continued ever since: so the Padres make a church of one of their chambers, where they say Mass twice a day, and preach every Sunday in Persian first to the Armenians and Moores, after in Portuguese for themselves, the Italians and Greeks. These told me the particulars of Mildnal's goods, who gave all to a French protestant, himself a Papist, which he denying was put in prison. After four months all were delivered.

Between Agminere and Agra every ten course (which is an ordinary day's journey) a Seralia or place of lodging for man and horse, and Hostesses to dress your victual if you please, paying a matter of three pence for both horse and meat dressing. Between these places (120*c*) at every course end is a great pillar erected, and at every ten course a fair house built by Akbar, when he went on pilgrimage from Agra to Ajimere on foot, saying his prayers at every course end. These houses serve the king and his women, none else.

I rode to the river Ganges, two days from Agra. The Banians carry the water of the Ganges many hundred miles thence, and as they affirm, it will never stink, though kept never so long. By Agra ran a large river Jumna. Agra

is a large town, the wall two courses in compasse, fairest and highest that ever I saw, well replenished with ordnance: the rest (except noble men's houses, fair seated by the river) ruinous. The ancient royal seat was Fatepore (twelve course from Agra) now decayed. Between those two, the sepulchre of the king's father, to which is none that ever I saw to be compared. And yet the church of Fatepore comes near it, built by geometry as is the other.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the Rev: Patrik Copland who acted as Chaplain in one of these early voyages has left a tractate for us in which we read.

I rode to Surat in a coach drawn with oxen (which is most ordinary, though they have store of goodly horses) here in the way was the goodliest spring and harvest together that ever I saw: the fields joining, one green as a meadow, the other yellow as gold, ready to be cut: their grain wheat and rice; they have excellent bread. All along were goodly villages, full of trees yielding Toddy, like new sweet wine, much strengthening and fatting. Surat hath stone and brick houses fair, square, flat-roofed, goodly gardens, with pomegranates, lemons, melons, figs, continuing all the year with curious springs of fresh water: the people are grave, judicious, neat, tall, goodly clothed in long white Calico or silk robes.[1]

[1] In 1673 appeared in London a remarkable work on *Asia* containing a detailed account of the vast Empire of the Great Mogul and dedicated to His Most Serene Majesty Charles II. We read in it—"the tract of land from Surat to Brampore is exceeding pleasant, and full of rivulets and springs, but the way from Brampore to Agra is mountainous and troublesome for the camels to travel, yet it is free from robbers. The country affords good wheat, rice and barley, besides many other sorts of grain andbread—corn which may be bought at easy rates. Of the wheat which is fuller and whiter than the European, the inhabitants bake good and savoury bread upon the lid of a pot which

I would let the extracts which I have so far placed before you, spiced as they are every now and then with touches of romance and elements of poetry, speak for themselves and tell their own tale[1] regarding Akbar's Caravanserais and Akbar's pilgrimages on the one hand; the beliefs and practices of the Hindus and the life of the villagers on the other. Truly the encyclopaedic nature of these entries make us feel that in these journals we have so to speak so many gazetteers of the Mogul Empire, and yet something more which is of far greater interest and importance than mere gazetteers—*viz.*, vivid glimpses of the real India of Akbar and of Jahangir.

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hangs over the fire. The country is beautified with many woods, orchards and gardens."

Again.—"Each caravansera hath a porter who at set times every evening locks up the outward gates, which are not opened till the sun rises. This porter also keeps a cook's shop, where Travellers may either have meat ready dressed or dress it themselvess when they set forward on their journey again, and leave the town, they pay a *Jeckas* of copper for a beast to carry their goods, besides their diet. But in the caravenseras which are built in the country, they need not give anything for their meat from the porter but these words *Salom alecum*, peace be with you. These *Serrays* or caravanseras are built by some eminent people, out of charity, for the accommodation of strangers."

Ogilby's *Asia* however, is largely based on the information to be gleaned from *Purchas.*

[1] One may urge from a somewhat wider point of view in justification of the method here adopted what Sir James Bryce urges in justification of his method of treatment of the American Commonwealth —*viz*—"I have striven to avoid the temptations of the deductive method, and to present simply the facts of the case, arranging and connecting them as best I can, but letting them speak for themselves rather than pressing upon the reader my own conclusions."

The first voyage set forth by the London East India Company was commanded by James Lancaster, one of the leading seamen of the Elizabethan era who received the honour of a knighthood for his notable services—services for which he is rightly regarded as "the founder of the English trade with the East Indies which led to the formation of the British Empire of India." The original manuscript journals of the voyage are unfortunately lost. The few points that I propose to place before you in this connection are taken from the narrative as given by Purchas, which, whenever practicable, I have collated with the papers included in the First Letter Book of the East India Company compiled by Sir George Birdwood, as also with the volume of Lancaster's voyages published by the Haqluit Society. I may just as well state here that "the oldest existing manuscripts in the India Office are fragments of three journals kept during the third voyage (1606-1609) which was commanded by Captains Keelinge and Hawkins. Purchas gives abstracts of two journals of this third voyage, that of Keelinge from the document preserved in the India Office. The second is the important narrative of Captain Hawkins commanding the *Hector*, who was the first Englishman to obtain a concession for trading from the Great Mogul. It was at one time believed that the manuscript of the

journal of Hawkins had been lost."[1] But it has now been fortunately found among the manuscripts in the British Museum (Egerton MS. 2100) though much injured by damp.

For the benefit of my younger friends, I may further explain that there were altogether twelve "Separate Voyages.[2]" Of the "Joint Stock Voyages," the first, that in 1613 under Downton, is perhaps the only one on the Joint Stock account of general interest. "The fleet which sailed in January 1615 took out Sir Thomas Roe, on board the *Lion*, as Ambassador from James I to the Court of the Great Mogul (Jehangier) at Agra." That which sailed in February 1616 had Edward Terry, (whose journal I shall have frequently to refer to later on), on board the *Charles* as Chaplain to the Hon'ble Sir Thomas Roe, Kt.

Of the twelve "Separate Voyages," "The First," 1601, under James Lancaster, consisted of the Red Dragon, Hector, Assention, Susan and Guift.

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[1] Markham.

[2] During the first twelve years of its existence the Company traded on the principle of each subscriber contributing separately to the expense of each voyage, and reaping the whole profits of his subscription. The voyages during these twelve years are therefore known as "separate voyages." But after 1612 the subscribers threw their contributions into a "Joint Stock," and thus converted themselves from a regulated Company into a Joint Stock Company which however differed widely in its constitution from the Joint Stock Companies of the present day.—*Ilbert.*

"The Second," 1604, under Henry Middleton, consisted of the Red Dragon, Hector, Assention, Susan.

"The Third," 1607, under Keeling, consisted of the Red Dragon, Hector and Consent, and William Hawkins, who commanded the Hector, left her at Surat and proceeded to Agra.

"The Fourth," 1608, under Sharpey, consisted of the Assention and Union;

"The Fifth," 1609. was under David Middleton in the Consent, the only ship sent;

"The Sixth," 1610, under Sir Henry Middleton, consisted of the Trades Increase, the Peppercorn, commanded by Nicholas Downton; and the Darling;

"The Seventh Voyage," was under Anthony Hippon in the Globe, the only ship sent;

"The Eighth," 1611, under John Saris, consisted of the Clove, Hector and Thomas;

"The Ninth," 1612, was under Edmund Marlowe, in the James (James I), detached from the "Tenth Voyage";

"The Tenth," 1612, under Thomas Best, consisted of the Hoseander, Solomon (*i.e.*, James I again) and Red Dragon;

"The Eleventh," 1612, under Best in the Solomon, detached from the "Tenth Voyage",

And "The Twelfth," also in 1612, was under Christopher Newport, in the expedition, which was commissioned chiefly to carry Sir Robert

Sherly (brother of Sir Anthony), Ambassador from Shah Abbas to King James I, back to Persia, where he died in 1628.

Neither of the expeditions under Lancaster touched the shores of India proper. Their interest to the Indian historian, I venture to think, lies chiefly in the experimental nature of their operations. They familiarised English mariners with the route round the Cape of Good Hope. They spoke of the resources of the various stations and halting places on the way to India. They spoke of possible dangers, and thus forearmed succeeding voyagers by their forewarnings. But above all, to my mind, their interest lies in the fact that the first commercial treaty between England and an Oriental potentate ruling over an island of the Indian Archipelago, Sultan Alauddin, Sultan of Achim in the island of Sumatra, was negotiated by Lancaster in course of the very first voyage set forth by the London East India Company. The negotiations which led to the ratification of the treaty illustrate that policy of caution and prudence, of sympathy and insight, of real statesmanship which characterise the doings of the principal agents of the East India Company from the beginning of its history, the policy which enabled it to triumph over its European rivals on the mainland of India, and which has made England today the supreme power in the

East. I propose to place before you this portion of the narrative of Lancaster's voyages *in extenso*, and you will gather that I do so not because of its graphic descriptions of the banquetings and dancing and merrymaking with which Lancaster was welcomed in Sumatra; not even because of the light which the narrative throws on the life of the people and the Court in the island—but because we have here a prefiguring of the future policy which indicated the surest way to empire building.

I would invite particular attention to the terms of the agreement and to the reasons which were adduced by Lancaster in course of the negotiations in justification of the establishment of a League of peace and amity between the two contracting parties.

The narrative relates :—

On the 5th day of June 1602, we came to anchor in the road of Achim, some two miles off the city. Here we found 16 or 18 sail of ships of divers nations, some of Bangala, some of Calicut, some Pegues which came to trade there. There came aboard of us two Holland merchants which had been left there behind their ships to learn the language and manners of the country. These told us, we should be very welcome to the king who was desirous to entertain strangers and that the queen of England was very famous in these parts by reason of the wars and great victories which she had gotten against the king of Spain.

The third day, the generall went a land very well accompanied, with some thirtie men or more to attend

upon him, and first at his landing in the Holland merchants met him, and carried him home to their house, as it was appointed. For as yet, the generall would make choyce of no house of his owne, till he had spoken with the king, but stayed at the Hollanders house, till a noble man came from the king, who saluted the generall very kindly, and declared that he came from his Maiestie, and represented his person. Then he demaunded the queenes letter of the generall, which he refused to deliuer; saying, he would deliuer it to the king himself. For it was the order of embassadours, in those parts of the world from whence he came, to deliuer their letters to the princes owne hands, and not to any that did represent the kings person. So he demaunded to see the superscription, which the generall shewed him, and he read the same, and looked very earnestly upon the scale, tooke a note of the superscription, and did likewise write her maiesties name; and then, with courtesie tooke his leaue, and repaired to the court to tell the king what had passed. Who presently sent sixe great elephants, with many trumpets, drums and streamers with much people to accompany the generall to the court, so that the presse was exceeding great. The biggest of these elephants was about thirteene or fourteene foote high, which had a small castle, like a coach upon his back, couered with crimson veluet. In the miidle thereof was a great bason of gold, and a peece of silke exceeding richly wrought to couer it, under which her maiesties letter was put. The generall was mounted upon another of the elephants; some of his attendants rode, others went a foote. But when he came to the court gate, there a nobleman stayed the generall till he had gone in to know the kings further pleasure. But presently the said nobleman returned, and willed the generall to enter in. And when the generall came to the

kings presence, he made his obeysance after the manner of the country, declaring that hee was sent from the most mightie Queen eof England to congratulate with his highnesse and treat with him concerning a peace and amitie with his Maiestie, if it pleased him to entertaine the same. And therewithal began to enter into further discourse, which the king brake off, saying: I am sure you are weary of the long trauaile you haue taken, I would haue you sit downe and refresh your selfe. You are very welcome, and heere you shall haue whatsoeuer you will in any reasonable conditions demaund for your princesse sake, for she is worthy of all kindnesse and franke conditions, being a princesse of great noblenesse, for fame speaketh so much of her. The generall perceiuing the kings mind, deliuered him the queenes letter, which he willingly received, and deliuered the same to a noble man standing by him. Then the generall proceeded to deliuer him his present, which was a bason of siluer, with a fountaine in the middest of it, weighing two hundred and fiue ounces, a great standing cup of siluer, a rich looking-glasse, and head-piece with a plume of feathers, a case of very faire daggers, a rich wrought embroidered belt to hand a sword in, and a fan of feathers. All these were receiued in the kings presence by a nobleman of the court; onely he tooke into his owne hand the fanne of feathers, and caused one of his women to fanne him therewithall, as a thing that most pleased him of all the rest. The generall was commanded to sit downe in the kings presence, as the manner is, upon the ground; where was a very great banquet prouided. All the dishes, in which the meate was serued in, were either of pure gold, or of another metall, which (among them) is of great estimation, called tambaycke, which groweth of gold and brasse together. In this banquet, the king, (as he sate aloft in a gallery,

about a fathome from the ground) dranke oft to the generall in their wine, which they call racke. This wine is made of rice, and is as strong as any of our aquauita: a little will serue to bring one asleepe. The generall, after the first draught, dranke either water mingled there-withall, or pure water; the king gaue him leaue so to do, for the generall craued his pardon, as not able to drinke so strong drinke. After this feast was done, the king caused his damosells to come forth and dance, and his women to play musicke vnto them; and these women were richly attired, and adorned with bracelets and jewels; and this they account a great fauour, for these are not vsually seene of any but such as the king will greatly honour. The king also gaue vnto the generall a fine white robe of calico, richly wrought with gold, and a very faire girdle of Turkey worke, and two cresses, which are a kind of daggers, all which a noble man put on in the kings presence; and in this manner he was dismissed the court, with very greatcurtesies, and one sent along with him to make choyce of an house in the citie, where the generall thought most meete. But, at this time, he refused this kindnesse, and rather chose to goe aboord his ships; and left the king to consider of the queenes letter.

This letter, it is highly interesting to note, was a copy of that circular letter addressed to Oriental potentates which Elizabeth had drawn up and to which I ventured to invite your attention pointedly in one of my earlier discourses.

At his next going to the court, hee had long conference with the king concerning the effect of the queenes letter, wherewith the king seemed to be very well pleased, and said if the contents of that letter came from the heart,

he had good cause to thinke well thereof. And, for the league her Maiestie was desirous to hold with him, hee was well pleased therewith. And for the further demands the generall made from her in respect of the merchants trafficke, he had committed all these points to two of his noblemen to conferre with him, and promised what her Maiestie had requested should by all good meanes be granted. With this contented answere, after another banquet appointed for the general, he departed the court. And the next day he sent to those noblemen the king had named to him, to know their appointed time when they would sit vpon this conference. The one of these noblemen was the chiefe bishope of the realme, a man of great estimation with the king and all the people; and so he well deserued, for he was a man very wise and temperate. The other was one of the most ancient nobilitie, a man of very good grauitie but not so fit to enter into these conferences as the bishop was. A day and a meeting was appointed, where many quesrions passed betwixt them, and all ths conferences passed in the Arabicke tongue, which both the bishop and the other nobleman well understood. Now the generall (before his going out of England) intertained a Jew who spake that language perfectly, which stood him in good steed at that time. About many demandes the generall made touching freedomes for the merchantes, the bishop said vnto him: 'Sir, what reasons shall we show to the king, from you, where by he may (the more willingly) grant these things which you haue demanded to be granted by him?' to whom the generall answered with reasons following:

'1. Her Maiesties mutuall loue.'

'2. Her worthiness in protecting others against the King of Spaine, the common enemie of these parts.'

'3. Her noble mind which refused the offer of those countries.'

'4. Nor will shee suffer any prince to exceed her in kindness.'

'5. Whose forces haue exceeded the Spaniards in many victories.'

'6. And hindered the Portugals attempts against these parts.'

'7. The Grand Signor of Turkie hath alreadie entred into league with her Maiestie on honorable conditions.'

'Reasons of another kind:'

'8. More ouer, it is not unknowne to the king what prosperetie trade of merchandise bringeth to all lands, with increase of their reuenues, by the custome of these commerces.'

'9. Also princes grow into the more renowme and strength, and are the more feared for the wealth of their subiects, which by the concourse of merchandises grow and incresae.'

'10. And the more kindly that strangers are entertained, the more trade doth grow; the prince is thereby much enriched also.'

'11. As for Achem, in particular, this port lieth well to answere to the trade of all Bangala, Java, and the Moluccas, and all China. And these places hauing vent of their merchandise, will not let to resort hither with them; so that, by this meanes, the royaltie of the kings crowne will greatly increase, to the decrease and diminishing of all Portugals trade, and their great forces in the Indies.'

'12. And if it shall happen that his Maiestie wanteth any artificiers, hee may haue them out of our kingdome, giuing them content for their trauaile: and free course to goe as they haue good will to come. And any other

necessarie that our countrie bringeth forth and may spare, shall be at the king's command and seruice.

But I hope his Maiestie will not vrge any demands more than Her Maiestie may willingly consent unto, or that shall be contrarie to her honour and lawes, and the league she hath made with all Christian princes, her neighbours.

Further, the generall demanded that his Maiestie would cause present proclamation to be made for our safetie, and that none of his people should abuse any of ours: but that they might doe their businesse quietly. And this last request was so well performed that, although there were a strict order that none of there owne people might walke by night, yet ours might goe both night and day without impeachment of any. Onely, if they found any of ours abroad at vnlawfull houres, the justice brought them home to the general's house, and there diliuered them.

After these conferences ended the bishop demanded of the generall notes of his reasons in writing, as also of his demands of the priuiledges he demanded in her Maiestie's name for the merchants, and he would shew them to the king, and within few dayes he should haue his Maiestie's answere to them. And with these conferences and much gratulation, and with some other talke of the affaires of Christendome, they broke vp for that time.

The generall was not negligent to send his demands to the noble men, which, for the most part, were drawne out before hand, for he was not vnreadie for these businesses before he came aland in the kingdome.

At his next going to the Court, and sitting before the king, beholding the cock-fighting (which is one of the greatest sports this king delighteth in), hee sent his

interpreter with his obeisance to the king, desiring him to be mindfull of the businesse, wheroof hee had conferred with his noble men. Whereupon he called the generall vnot him, and told him that hee was carefull of his dispatch, and would willingly enter into peace and league with her Maiestie, and (for his part) would hold it truely. And for these demands and articles he had set downe in writing they should all bee written again by one of his secretaries, and should haue them authorized by him. Which within fiue or six dayes were deliuered the generall by the king's owne hands with many good and gracious words: the tenor of which league and Articles of Peace are too long to be inserted. According to their desires was to the English granted: first, free entry and trade; secondly, custome free, whatsoeuer they brought in or carried forth, and assistance with their vessels and shipping to saue our ships, goods, and men from wracke in any dangers. Thirdly, libertie, of testament to bequeath their goods to whom they please: Fourtly, stability of bargaines and orders for paymennt by the subjects of Achem, etc. Fiftly, authority to execute iustice on their owne men offending. Sixtly, iustice against iniuries from the natiues. Seuenthly, not to arrest or stay our goods or set prizes on them. Eightly, freedome of conscience. This league of peace and amitie being settled, the merchants continually went forward prouiding pepper for the lading of the ships.

On the eve of his departure, Lancaster was entrusted with a letter from the king of Achem to Queen Elizabeth which thus concludes—

You do affirm that you desire peace and friendship with us. To God be praise and thanks for the greatness of his grace. This therefore is our serious will and

honourable purpose truly in this writing that you may send from your people unto our ports to trade and to traffic, and that whosoever shall be sent unto us in your highnesse's name, and to whomsoever you shall prescribe the time, they shall be of a joint company and of common privileges.

The leave-taking between the English General and the Oriental monarch was indeed affecting. But I desire to call your attention to it more for the truly edifying spectacle which it affords and the highly instructive example which it sets.

For a present to her Maiestie the king of Achem sent three faire cloathes richly wrought with gold of very cunning worke, and a very faire rubie in a ring : and gave to the generall another ring and a rubie in it. And when the generall tooke his leaue the king said vnto him : have you the Psalmes of David extant among you ? The generall answered : Yea, and we sing them daily. Then said the king : I and the rest of these nobles about me will sing a Psalme to God for your prosperitie, and so they did very solemnly. And after it was ended the king said : I would heare you sing another Psalme, although in your owne language. So there being in the company some twelue of us, we sung another Psalme : and after the Psalme was ended the generall tooke his leaue of the king. The king shewed him much kindnesse at his departure : desiring God to bless vs in our iourney and guide vs safely into our owne countrey, saying, if hereafter your ships returne to this port you shall find as good vsage as you haue done. All our men being shipped, we departed the ninth of Nouember, being three ships, the Dragon, the Hector, and the Ascention. We kept company two days,

in which time the generall dispatched his letters for England, and sent away the Ascention, she setting her course homeward toward the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and we along the coast of Sumatra, toward Bantam, to see if we could meete with the Susan, which had order to lade upon that coast.

I now come to the third voyage set forth by the East India Company, the voyage associated with the names of Captains Keeling and Hawkins—a voyage of the most momentous consequence to India—for the first English ship which came to Surat, was the Hector, commanded by Captain William Hawkins, who brought a letter from the Company, and another from the king, James the first, to the great Mogul Jehangire, requesting the intercourse of trade.

To-day I do not propose to trouble you with any detailed account of the experiences of Hawkins during his stay in India and residence at the Mogul Court—experiences which were mostly painful, harassing as well as embarrassing. I have already stated that the journal of Hawkins is to be found in Purchas. It is also given in the volume entitled the Hawkins Voyages published by the Haqluit Society. There is further a more or less modernised version in Kerr's *English Voyages.* On the present occasion I shall content myself by placing before you the brief summarised version given in Orme's *Historical Fragments*, and I hasten to invite your attention to the supplementary chapter

i.e. the concluding section of the narrative of Hawkins—where our rough and ready sailor endeavours partially to lift the veil for us, and enables us to catch just a glimpse but no more than a glimpse of the real Mogul India of the day. Evidently Hawkins was better fitted to fight his country's battles at the sea than to combat the dilatoriness of Oriental diplomacy and the subtle intrigues of the wily and courtly Portuguese at Delhi, or to review the passing events of the hour with the practised eye of an acute observer like Sir Thomas Roe and the picturesqueness and penetration of a modern Diarist like Russel. Yet the chapter under reference speaks to us of the resources of the Empire, the life at court, the attitude of the Great Mogul towards the peers of the realm, as also towards the commonalty, and hence incidentally something of the rigour of the laws, the administration of justice in general and something of the daily occupations and pursuits of the sovereign himself. And rough and ready sailor that he is, as will be presently seen, his account does not differ in any essential particular from the accounts to be found in the pages of our other diarists and travellers.

The Hector arrived at Surat in August 1608, but as in a voyage of experiment; the contingency of ill success at this port was provided for, by a farther destination of the ship to Bantam; to which several voyages had already been made, with sufficient encouragement to continue the resort.

At this time the Portuguese marine predominated on the western seas of India, in so much that they made prize of all vessels which had not taken their pass; and the fear of their resentment on the ships which traded from Surat to the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, deterred the Mogul's officers from giving the encouragement they might wish, to the English stangers. They, however, permitted Hawkins to land his lead and iron, with some treasure; but obliged him to buy and sell with much delay and disadvantage. In September the northern armada of the Portuguese, consisting of forty sail of grabs and gallivats, came into the road, threatening to burn the city and all its vessels, if the English ship, and all that belonged to her, were not sent away. Hawkins hastened her dispatch, but not equal to the impatience of the Portuguese, who seized his longboat, with goods to a considerable amount, and twentyseven men, whom they kept prisoners; but did not venture to attack the ship, which sailed a few days after, on the 5th of October, for Bantam.

Notwithstanding the menaces of the Portuguese, the government of Surat dared not disobey the Mogul's order, that Hawkins should repair to his court. He set out for Agra on the 1st February, 1609, travelling in continual fear of poison or assassination from his attendants, at the instigation of the Portuguese, whose jealousy followed all his steps. He left behind him William Finch, with three or four English domestics, to sell the remainder of what goods had been landed; whom the favourable reception of Hawkins at the Mogul's court preserved from open, but not from secret vexations; for Mocrib Caun, the governor, retained his terror, and perhaps the bribes of the Portuguese.

In September, the Ascension, coming to Surat, was wrecked at Gundavie. This ship had left England in

March 1608, a month before the Hector, which had brought captain Hawkins; but came last from Mocha, and was the first English ship which had ever entered the gulph of Arabia. Her crew, seventy-five men, travelled to Surat, where they were not permitted to enter the city, but Finch to maintain them in a neighbouring village. In January, 1610, Finch went to Agra, on the summons of Hawkins, and from thence came overland, by Lahore and Persia, to England.

Sir Henry Middleton, after his captivity, escape, and reprisals at Mocha, arrived with his three ships at Surat, on the 26th of September, 1611. The northern armada of the Portuguese were ready stationed at the bar, and within the river, to present the intercourse of his boats with the city, in which no Englishmen. excepting Bangham, a joiner, who had lately returned from captain Hawkins, was remaining, all who had been saved from the Ascension having dispersed, most to get livelihood as soldiers in the country; but the few of better condition, with the captain, Sharpeigh, had repaired to Hawkins, at Agra, who seems to have been much fitter to fight the Portuguese at sea, than to counteract their intrigues at the Mogul's court, where they had jesuits of great subtlety. He accepted a wife, who however was a christian and a maiden, out of the Mogul's seraglio, and his service, with a pension, which was very ill paid; still retaining his pretension to the character he had assumed of an embassador from the king of England. He received frequent assurances of the privileges he solicited for the company's trade; which were constantly retracted without apology. Even Mocrib Caun had been summoned to court, to be punished, on his complaint; but returned to Surat with greater power. At length Hawkins lost hope, and began to think of nothing else

but his return to England; when the relations of his wife, set on by the jesuits, forbad her departure off the shore of India; and Hawkins agreed with the same jesuits to procure a passage for them both at Goa. Fortunately, at this time news came to Agra of the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton at Surat; when Hawkins formally demanded his dismission from the Mogul, and requested an answer to the letter he had brought from the king, which was denied; but he was permitted to depart, and arrived at Cambay on the 11th of December 1611, accompanied by the brothers of his wife, to prevent him from carrying her farther. Captain Sharpeigh, and what other Englishmen had joined him at Agra, had gone before, and came to Cambay soon after Sir Henry Middleton arrived at Surat. [1]

Hawkins departed from Surat on the 11th February, and arrived at Dabul on the 16th where he took a Portuguese ship and frigate. Leaving Dabul on the 5th November, he arrived at the Red Sea on the 3rd April. [2]

I begin my reference to the subject-matter of the concluding section of the narrative of Hawkins by inviting your attention to what he tells us about the celebrated tomb of

[1] Orme.

[2] In *The Hawkins Voyages* will be found an account of the arrival of the first English ship at Surat, in August 1608: the journey to Agra of its captain, William Hawkins, to present a commendatory letter from King James, and to solicit trading privileges; his encouraging reception by the Great Mogul: and the consequent alarm and intrigues of the Portuguese representatives resulting in the virtual dismissal of Hawkins in November, 1611. *Introduction to the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.*

Akbar at *Secundra*. I need not dilate on the interest which necessarily attaches to this very early and indeed contemporaneous notice of one of the noblest specimens of Mogul architectural art. Let us admit that judged by modern standards, this notice is rather unsatisfying, rather uncritical. But here we have a first-hand account from one who was actually resident in India and who ranked among the favoured courtiers of the Great Mogul at a time when this noble pile was being reared up. Says Hawkins, "after I had written this, there came into my memory another feast, solemnised at his father's funeral, which is kept at his Sepulchre where likewise himself with all his posterity mean to be buried. Upon this day there is great store of victuals dressed, and much money given to the poor. This Sepulchre may be counted one of the rarest monuments of the world. It hath been these fourteen years a building, and it is thought it will not be finished these seven years more, in ending gates and walls and other needful things, for the beautifying and setting it forth. The least that work there daily, are three thousand people, but this much I will say, that one of our workmen will despatch more that three of them. The Sepulchre is some $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile about made square. It hath seven heights built, every height narrower than the other, till you come

to the top where his hearse is. At the outermost gate, before you come to the Sepulchre, there is a most stately palace a building the compass of the wall joining to this gate of the Sepulchre and garding, being within, may be at the least three miles. This Sepulchre is some four miles distant from the city of Agra."

Permit me to place by the side of this early account what we are told by one of our latest authorities, Mr. Vincent Smith, in his (shall I say) *Magnum Opus*, the recently published *History of fine art in India and Ceylon.*

"The extant contributions of the Emperor Jahangir (1605-27) to IndoPersian architecture, although important, are not very numerous. The design of the magnificent mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandarah near Agra, in which Jahangir personally had an undefined share, is exceptional. The building completed in 1612 is said by one Muslim writer to have been under construction for twenty years, having been begun according to custom, by the sovereign whose remains were to find their resting place within it. But the inscriptions and the *Memoirs* of Jahangir seem to prove that it was wholly erected under his orders between 1605—12. It is composed of five square terraces, diminishing as they ascend, and the only edifice of the period in all resembling it is Akbar's five storied pavilion, or Panch-Mahall, at Fattepur Sikri. It has been suggested that both compositions must have been copied from Indian Budhist Viharas, but the objection to that suggestion is that there is no reason to suppose that any Vihara of the kind existed in India in Akbar's time except the rock-cut rathas at Mamallapuram

near Madras which have some rather distant resemblance to the mausoleum. We know that the Ceylonese in the 12th Century imitated Cambodian buildings arranged on the same principle of diminishing square terraces, and it seems to me not improbable that the hint for the design of both the exceptional Mogul structures may have come from Cambodia rather than from Madras. Artists and skilled craftsmen from many distant countries crowded the Mogul Court which was ready to accept hints from divers quarters and there is no difficulty in supposing that Cambodians may have been among the number, although not recorded.

In this passage, I need hardly explain, Mr. Vincent Smith is mainly controverting the views and conclusions of James Fergusson as stated in his chapter on Indian Saracenic architecture.

I give here the passage from the *Memoirs* of Jahangir which speaks of Akbar's tomb, and which is referred to by Mr. Vincent Smith.

On Monday the 17th, I went on foot on my pilgrimage to the enlightened mausoleum of the late King. If it had been possible, I would have traversed this road with my eyelashes and head. My revered father, on account of my birth, had gone on foot on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Khawaja Muinuddin Sanjari Chisti, from Fathpur to Ajmere, a distance of 120 kos; if I should traverse this road with my head and eyes, what should I have done? When I was dignified with the good fortune of making this pilgrimage, I saw the building that had been erected in the cemetery. It did not come up to my idea of what it ought to be, for that would be approved which

the wayfarers of the world should point to as one, the like of which was not in the inhabited world. In as much as at the time of erecting the aforesaid building the affair of the illstarred Khusrau took place, I started for Lahore, and the architects had built it after a design of their own. At last a certain expenditure was made until a large sum was expended, and work went on for three or four years. I ordered that experienced architects should again lay the foundations, in agreement with men of experience, in several places, on a settled plan. By degrees a lofty building was erected, and a very bright garden was arranged round the building of the shrine, and a large and lofty gateway with minarets of white stone was built. On the whole they told me the cost of this lofty edifice was 1,500,000 rupees.

Let us not overlook in this connection what our old familiar friend Col. Sleeman tells us in his deservedly famous *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian official*, a book, I fear, not quite so well known to our younger generation of historical students as it deserves to be.

"I went out to visit the tomb of the Emperor Akbar at *Secundra*, a magnificent building raised over him by his son, the Emperor Jahangeer. His remains lie deposited in a deep vault under the centre, and are covered by a plain slab of marble, without fret-work or mosaic. On the top of the building, which is three or four stories high, is another marble slab corresponding with the one in the vault below. This is beautifully carved with the *Now Nubbey Nam*, the ninety-nine names or attributes of the Deity from the Koran. It is covered by an awning, not to protect the tomb, but to defend the words of God from the rain, as my cicerone assured me.

Considering all the circumstances of time and place, Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets; and feeling as a citizen of the world, I reverenced the marble slab that covers his bones, more perhaps than I should that cover any other sovereign with whose history I am acquainted."

I conclude this portion of the subject as I began, with a reference to the observations of one of our seventeenth century foreign observers *viz.* William Finch, who spent a number of years in the dominions of the Great Mogul and apparently visited Akbar's tomb for the last time about the year 1611. I trust these references will help to illustrate once again the value of the varied information to be gleaned from the journals and records left behind by our European travellers and foreign observers.

Says Finch,

King Akbar's sepulchre is 3 kos distant from Agra in the way to Lahore, nothing near finished as yet, after ten years work. It is placed in the midst of a fair and large garden, enclosed with brick walls, near two miles in circuit; is to have four gates (but one of which is yet in hand) each, if answerable to this foundation, able to receive a great prince with a reasonable train. Along the wayside is a spacious Mohol for his father's women (as is said) to remain and end their days in deploring their deceased lord, each enjoying the lands they before had in the King's time, by the pay or rents of five thousand horse the principal, so that this should be to them a perpetual nunnery, never to marry again.

In the centre of this garden stands the tomb four square, about three quarters of a mile in compasse. The first enclosure is with a curious rail, to which you ascend some six steps into a small square garden quartered in curious tanks, planted with variety of sweets; adjoining to which is the tomb, rounded with this gardenet, being also four square, all of them stone with fair spacious galleries on each side, having at each corner a small beautiful turret arched overhead and covered with various marble. Betwixt corner and corner are four other turrets at like distance. Here within a fair round coffin of gold lieth the body of this monarch who sometimes thought the world too little for him. This tomb is much worshipped both by the Moors and gentiles, holding him for a great saint. Some ten or twelve feet higher, you ascend by stairs to another gallery (like, but narrower, to the former, as are also the rest that follow) containing only three of those turrets between corner and corner. Here in the midst is his wardrobe for a memorial. The third story hath but two of those middle turrets on a side, the fourth one, the fifth hath only the corner turret, and a small square gallery.

The tomb was not finished at my departure, but lay in maner of a coffin, covered with a white sheet, interwrought with gold flowers. By his head stand his sword and target, and on a small pillow his Turban, and thereby two or three fair gilded books. At his feet stand his shoes and a rich bason and Ewer. Everyone approaching near makes his reverenee, and puts off his shoes, bringing in his hand some sweet smelling flowers, to bestrew the carpets or to adorne the tomb.

At my last sight thereof, there was only overhead a rich tent, with a semaine over the tomb. But it is to be inarched over with the most curious white and speckled

marble, and to be sealed all within with pure sheet gold richly inwrought. These four last turrets also enclosing the sepulchre are of most rich curious marble and the ground underfoot paved with the like. There are in continual work about this and other buildings about it, the Mohal and gate, not so few as three thousand. The stone is brought from a rich quarry near Fatehpur which (we have said) may be cut in length and form as timber with saws, and planks, and seilings are made thereof.

After all this, we may indeed ask if our modern authorities, Fergusson, Sleeman and Vincent Smith, had these 17th Century Journals before them. Fergusson had Finch before him we know, for he quotes Finch in support of his contention regarding the original conception of the Mausoleum as designed by its authors.

The journal of Finch, I may note in passing, is full of many an interesting detail regarding Mogul India. On the one hand, for example, there are the topographical details about the many cities of the Mogul Empire, all more or less in a flourishing state, and the various roads and means of communication between these cities; on the other hand there are details about the processes in the manufacture of Indigo and similar things. One such curious specimen I venture to place before you with apologies to my naturalist friends as illustrative of the minutely observant nature of the entries to be found

in the journals and diaries of our Seventeenth Century travellers.

There groweth the herb which beareth the Hermodactyle and another bearing a fruit like a goblet, called Camolachachery, both very cooling fruits. The herb which beareth the Hermodactyle is a weed abounding in most tanks near Agra, spreading over all the water; the herb I observed not, but the fruit is enclosed with a three cornered shell, of a hard woodie substance having at each angle a sharp picked pricking point, and is a little indented on both the flat sides like two posternes. The fruit being green is soft and tender, white of a mealish taste, much eaten in India, being exceeding cold in my judgment; for always after it, I desired Aqua Vitae. It is called by the people Singara. The other beareth a fruit in a manner of a goblet, flat on the toppe, and of a soft greenish substance, within which a little eminent stand six or eight small fruits like Akornes, divided from each other, and enclosed with a whitish film, at the first of a russetish green, tasting like a nut or acorn; in the midst is a small green sprig not to be eaten.

Or take again, this bare account of a Mogul garden, the garden of the great *Asoph Khan* at Lahore—

On the east side of the castle hard without the wall, is the garden of Asoph Khan, small, neat with walks (planted with cypress trees) divers tanks and jounters: as you enter a fair Devoncan supported with stone pillars, with a fair tank in the midst, and in the midst of that on four stone pillars a jounter for coolness. Beyond are other galleries and walks, divers lodging for his women neatly contrived; and behind a small garden and garden house. In the midst of the garden is a very

state'y jounter with fair buildings overhead, and a tank in the centre with large and goodly galleries along the four sides thereof, supported with high stone pillars. Adjoining to this is a garden of the kings, in which are very good apples, but small, toot white and red, almonds, peaches, figs, grapes, quinces, oranges, Lemons, pomegranates, Roses, stock, yellow flowers, marigolds, wall flowers, pinks white and red, with divers sorts of Indian flowers.

It will have been noticed that Hawkins begins his account of Akbar's tomb with a reference to certain solemn feasts. Two of these, the feast of the *Noorose* and the Emperor's *Birth day feast*, are familiar to all students of Mogul India, and their descriptions loom large in the pages of our 17th century diarists, Sir Thomas Roe and his Chaplain, the Rev. Edward Terry as also Mandelslo and Hawkins. It is superfluous to add that we have repeated references to these festivals in the *Memoirs* of Jahangir, as these celebrations come round year after year. I begin by placing before you one of the accounts to be found in the *Memoirs*, preferably that of the feast in the third year of the reign, as that is brief, graphic as well as impressive, with just one preliminary word as to what the *Noorose* is in as much as there is a slight misapprehension regarding its signification on the part of Sir Thomas Roe. We gather from the Ain-i-Akbari that it was a feast instituted by the Emperor Akbar in imitation of the Persians. "It commences on the day when the sun in his splendour

moves to Aries, and lasts till the 19th day month. Two days of this period are cons great festivals when much money and numerous other things are given away as presents: the first day of the month of Farwardin and the 19th which is the time of the sharof."

Says Jahangir in his Memoirs,—

On Thursday, the 2nd Zi-l-hijja, corresponding with the 1st Farwardin (19th March, 1608), the Sun, which enlightens and heats the world with its splendour, changed from the constellation of Pisces to the joyful mansion of Aries, the abode of pleasure and rejoicing. It gave the world fresh brightness, and being aided by the Spring clothed those who had been plundered by the cold season, and tyrannised over by the Autumn, with the robes of honour of the New year and the garments of emerald green, and gave them compensation and recuperation.

The feast of the New Year was held in the village of Rankatta, which is five kos off (from Agra), and at the time of transit (of the sun) I seated myself on the throne with glory and gladness. The nobles and courtiers and all the servants came forward with their congratulations. In the same assembly I bestowed on Khanjahan the rank of 5,000 personal and horse. I selected Khwaja Jahan for the post of bakhshi. Dismissing Wazir Khan from the Viziership of the province of Bengal, I sent in his place Abu-l-hasan Shihabkhani and Nuru-d-din Quli became kotwal of Agra. As the glorious mausoleum of the late king Akbar was on the road, it entered my mind that if in passing by I should have the good fortune of a pilgrimage to it, it might occur to those who were short-sighted that I visited it because it was the place where my road crossed. I accordingly had determined that this time I would enter

Agra, and after that would go on foot on this pilgrimage to the shrine, which is two and a half kos off, in the same way that the Hazrat (my father), on account of my birth, had gone from Agra to Ajmir. Would that I might also traverse the same on my head. When two watches of day had passed of Satuaday, the 5th of the month, at an auspicious hour, I returned towards Agra, and scattering with two hands 5000 rupees in small coins on the way, entered the august place which was inside the fort.

In reference to the Emperor's Birth-day feast we read in the *Memoirs*,—

On Wednesday the 9th of the aforesaid month, the 21st of Shahriwar, after three watches and four gharis, the feast for my solar weighing, which is the commencement of the 38th year of my age, took place. According to custom they got ready the weighing apparatus and the scales in the house of Maryam-Zemani (his mother). At the moment appointed blessings were invoked and I sate in the scales. Each suspending rope was held by an elderly person who offered up prayers. The first time the weight in gold came to three Hindustani maunds and ten seers. After this I was weighed against several metals, perfumes, and essences, up to twelve weighings, the details of which will be given hereafter. Twice a year I weigh myself against gold and silver and other metals, and against all sorts of silks and cloths, and various grains, etc., once at the begining of the solar year and once at that of the lunar. The weight of the money of the two weighings I hand over to the different treasures for faqirs and those in want On the same auspicious day I promoted Qutb-d-din Khan Koka, who for many years had expected such a day, with various favours.

I now place before you one after another the accounts of these festivities given by Sir Thomas Roe, Mandelslo and Hawkins. It will at once be seen that these accounts tally with one another in a most remarkable fashion and thus we need have little hesitation in accepting them as trustworthy and as faithful pictures of the court-life of the day.

Sir Thomas Roe notes in his journal under date March 11, 1616.—

The *Norose* begann in the Eueninge. It is a custom of solemnizing the new year, yet the Ceremonye beginnes the first New moone after it, which this year fell togei-ther. It is kept in imitation of the Persians feast and signifyes in that language nine dayes, for that anciently it endured no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner is: ther is erected a Throne fower foote from the ground, in the *Durber* Court, from the back whereof to the place wher the King comes out, a square of 56 paces long and 43 broad was rayled in, and couered ouer with faire Semianes or Canopyes of cloth of gould, silke, veluett, Ioyned together and susteyned with Canes so couered. At the vpper end were sett out the pictures of the King of England, the Queene, my lady Elizabeth, the Coun-tesse(s) of Sommersett and Salisbury, and of a Citizens wife of London; below them another of Sir Thomas Smyth, gouernor of the East Indian Company. Vnder foote it is layd with good Persian Carpette of great lard-gnes. Into which place come all the men of qualetye to attend the King, except some fewe that are within a little rayle right before the Throne to receiue his Com-mandes. Within this square there were sett out for showe many little howses (one of siluer) and some other

Curiosityes of Price. The Prince Sultan Coronne had at the lefte syde a Pauilion, the supporters whereof were Couered with Siluer (as were some of those also neare the Kings throne). The forme thereof was Square; the matter wood, inlayd with mother of pearle, borne vp with fower pillars and Couered with Cloth of gould about the edge. Ouerhead. like a valence, was a nett fringe of good pearls, vpon which hung downe Pomegranetts, apples, peares, and such fruicts of gould, but hollow. Within yt the king sate on Cushions very rich in Pearles and Jewells. Round about the Court before the Throne the Principall men had erected tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with veluett, damask and taffety ordinaryly, some few with Cloth of gould, wherein they retyred and sett to show all theyr wealth, for anciently the kings were vsed to goe to euery tent and there take what pleased them, but now it is Changed, the king sitting to receiue what new years guifts are brought to him. He comes abroad at the vsuall hower of the *Durbar*, and retyres with the same. Here are offered to him, by all sorts, great guiftes, though not equal to report, yet incredible enough; and at the end of this feast the King, in recompence of the presents receiued, aduanceth some and addeth to theyr entertaynment some horse at his pleasure.

I went to visitt the King and was brought right before him, expecting a present, which I deliuered to his extraordinary content. So he approynted I should bee directed within the rayle, to stand by him, but I, beeing not suffered to step vp vpon the rising on which the throne stood, could see little, the rayle beeing high and doubled with Carpettes. But I had leysure to view the inward room and the bewty therof, which I confesse was rich, but of so diuers peices and so vnsuteable that it was rather patched then glorious, as if it seemed to striue to show

all, like a ladie that with her plate sett on a Cupboord her imbrodered slippers. This eueninge was the sonne of Ranna, his New tributory, brought before him, with much ceremony, kneeling 3 tymes and knocking his head on the ground. He was sent by his father with a Present and was brought within the little rayle, the King embracing him by the head. His guift was an Indian voyder full of siluer, vpon yt a Carued siluer dish full of gould. Soe he was ledd toward the Prince. Some Eliphants were showed, and some did sing and dance. *Sic transit Gloria Mundi.*

At night I went to the Gusal khana where is best opportunity to do business.

Mandelslo's account runs thus—

There are two Festivals which are celebrated in this place, with extraordinary Ceremonies, one whereof is that of the first day of the year, which, with the Persians, they call Naurus, Nauros, or Norose, which signifies nine dayes, though now it lasts eighteen at least, and it falls at the moment that the Sun enters Aries.

In order to the celebration of this Festival, before the Derbar, or Kings Palace, there is erected a Theatre, fourteen foot high, fifty six in length, and forty in breadth ; having all about it a row of Pillars after the manner of a Balcony, covered with rich Tapistary. Near this Theatre there is erected another building of painted wood, and embellished with Mother of Pearl, into which go some of the principal Lords about the Court, who nevertheless have their Tents pitch'd in the first Court of the Palace, filled with all they have that is rich and magnificent, whereof they make the greatest Ostentation they can that day : The Predecessors of this Prince, who now reigns, were wont to go into all these Tents, and to

take thence any thing they liked, but now the Ceremony is otherwise. For the King accompanied by the seven Ministers of State, go up into the Theatre, where he sits upon velvet Cushions, enbroidered with Gold and Pearls, and stayes for the Presents which are to be made to him. The Queen is in a certain Gallery, whence she sees all the Ceremony, yet is not seen herself. Departing thence, he sits upon his Ordinary Throne, where he receives the Presents of the people, which he continues to do for eighteen dayes together. Towards the end of the Festival the King in his turn makes his Presents to the Lords, which consists in Charges, Employments, and new Honours, which he distributes among those that have given him most.

The Mogul's birth-day is celebrated with the care monies following. He begins the day with all manner of divertisements; which over, he goes to the Palace of the Queen his Mother, if she be living, and causes many to be made her by the Grandees of his Kingdom. After dinner he puts on the richest clothes he hath, and covers himself all over with Gold and precious Stones, and being thus rather loaden then adorn'd with inestimable wealth he goes into a Tent, where he is expected by the Lords of the Court, in which finding a pair of Scales, he weighs himself. These Scales are of massy Gold, as are also the Chains by which they hang, and are all beset with precious Stones. He puts himself into one of the Scales, and into the other there are put several bags of Silver, one bag of Gold, some pieces of silk-stuffs, Linnen cloath, Pepper, Cloves, Nutmeg and Cinnamon, Wheat, Pulse and Herbs, and there is an exact account kept of the difference of weight there may be between one year and another. The King gives away with his own hands, all the money among the poor, and the rest

are bestowed on the Benjans. That done, the King seats himself in his Throne, and causes to be cast among the Grandees, Nuts, Pistachoes Almonds, and several other Fruits of Gold, but so finely wrought, that a thousand of them weighed not thirty Crowns. This some would boggle much to admit for a Truth ; yet certain it is that it hath been seen, that the value of ten Crowns bestowed in these trifles, filled a great Basin of them, so that all the liberality of this powerful Monarch could not amount to a hundred Crowns. The festival is concluded with a great Feast, at which the Mogul entertains the Lords of his Court, with whom he passes away the night in drinking.

Hawkins relates—

This Emperor Jahangir keepeth many feasts in the yeare, but two feasts especially may be nominated ; the one called the Nourous, which is in honour of the New-years day. This feast continueth eighteene daies, and the wealth and riches are wonderfull, that are to be seene in the decking and setting forth of euery mans roome, or place where he lodgeth, when it is his turne to watch : for every Nobleman hath his place appointed him in the Palace. In the middest of that spacious place I speake of, there is a rich Tent pitched, but so rich, that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world. This Tent is curiously wrought, and hath many Seminans joyning round about it, of most curious wrought Velvet, embroidered with Golde, and many of them are of Cloath of Gold ane Silver. These Seminans be shaddowes to keepe the Sunne from the compasse of this Tent. I may say, it is at the least two Acres of ground, but so richly spread with Silke and Gold Carpets, and Hangings in the principall places, rich, as rich Velvet imbroydered with Gold, Pearle, and precious stones can make it within it

five Chaires of Estate are placed, most rich to behold, where at his pleasure the King sitteth. There are likewise private roomes made for his Queenes, most rich where they sit, and see all, but are not seene. So round about this Tent, the compasse of all may bee some five Acres of ground. Every principall Noble-man maketh his roome and decketh it, likewise every man according to his ability, striveth who may adorne his roome richest. The King where he doth affect, commeth to his Noblemens roomes, and is most sumptuously feasted there : and at his departure, is presented with the rarest Jewels and toyes that they can find. But because he will not receive any thing at that time as a present, he commandeth his Treasurer to pay what his praysers valew them to bee worth, which are valewed at halfe the price. Every one, and all of his Nobles provide toyes, and rare things to give him at this feast : so commonly at this feast every man his estate is augmented. Two daies of this feast, the better sort of the Women come to take the pleasure thereof : and this feast beginneth at the beginning of the Moone of March. The other feast is some foure moneths after, which is called the feast of his Birth-day : This day every man striveth who may be the richest in apparell and Jewels. After many sports and pastimes performed in his Palace, he goeth to his mothers house, with all the better sort of his Nobles, where every man presenteth a Jewell unto his Mother, according to his estate. After the bancket is ended, the King goeth into a very faire roome, where a ballance of beaten Gold is hanged, with one scale emptie for him to sit in ; the other scale being filled with divers things, that is to say, Silver, Gold, divers sorts of Grain a little, and so of every kind of Mettall a little, and with all sorts of precious stones some : In fine, he weigheth himselfe with these things, which

the next day are given to the poore, and all may be valued to be worth ten thousand pounds. This day, before he goeth unto his mothers house, every man bringeth him his Present, which is thought to be ten times more worth, then that which he giveth to the poore. This done, every man departeth unto his home.

This seems a convenient place to make a passing reference to the statements of our Travellers regarding the favourite amusements of the Mogul Emperors.

We gather from Mandelslo, for example, that

His (the Emperor's) ordinary divertisement every day was to see the combats of Lyons, Bulls, Elephants, Tigers, Leopards, and other wild Beasts, an argument of his cruel Nature, and bloudy Disposition, which his perpetual seeing of this kind of combats did much heighten. He also took a delight in seeing Men ingag'd with Beasts, but this was not but with their own consent; and such as would venture their lives, out of a hope to gain that reputation of Courage as should prove the raising of their Fortunes, were to make use of no Arms but Sword and Buckler. This puts me in mind of a Combat which Scach Choram ordered to be had, at the conclusion of a great Entertainment which he had made on the Birth-day of his Son, who was King of Bengala, in a Caravansera without the City, at which place were kept to this purpose all sorts of wild Beasts. This Caravansera had adjoyning to it a spacious Garden encompassed with a wall, upon which the people were come to see that divertisement. The first engagement was that of a wild Bull and a Lyon; and the next, that of a Lyon and a Tiger.

Or take again this little bit out of Terry.

The Mogul takes much delight in those stately creatures (the Elephants) and therefore oft when he sits forth in his majesty calls for them, especially the fairest, who are taught to bend to him as it were in reverence, when they first come into his presence. They often fight before him, beginning their combat like rams, by running fiercely one at the other ; after, as boars with their tusks, they fight with their teeth and trunks, in this violent opposition they are each so careful to preserve his rider, as that very few of them at those times receive hurt. They are governed with an hook of steel, made like the iron end of a boat-hook with which their keepers sitting on their necks put them back, or prick them forward at their pleasure.

This naturally leads us to think of the Court life of the day. Here, I need hardly explain, the experiences of Sir Thomas Roe, both at Ajmere and at Agra, the two cities where the Emperor Jahangir specially delighted to dwell, are of the highest interest to us, in as much as he had ample opportunities of noting the passing events of the hour as also the customs and practices of the day ; and he made his own comments on them with his usual penetration and characteristic native humour. It has further to be noted that what Roe tells us is practically what we find narrated in the pages of Hawkins. I therefore feel tempted to invite your attention in this connection to one specially full and illuminating entry in Roe's journal, and to a letter which according to the best available evidence was addressed by Roe evidently to

Lord Carew and which indeed does not form part of the original journal but which has been fortunately preserved for us. Writing under date January 10th, 1616, Sir Thomas notes,

I went to Court at 4 in the euening to the Durbar, which is the Place wher the Mogull sitts out daylie, to entertayne strangers, to receiue petitions and presents, to giue Commandes, to see, and to bee seene. To digresse a little from my reception, and declare the Customes of the Court, will enlighten the future discourse. The King hath no man but Eunuchs that Comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house : His women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons. They doe Justice on upon another for offences. He comes every Morning to a wyndow called the *Jarruco* looking into a playne before his gate, and showes him selfe to the Common People. At noone hee returns thither and sitts some howers to see the fight of Eliphants and willd beasts ; under him within a rayle attend the men of rancke ; from whence he retiers to sleepe among his women. At afternoone he returnes to the *Durbar* before mentioned. At 8 after supper he Comes downe to the *Gazelcan*, a faire Court, wher in the middest is a Throune erected of free stone wherein he sitts, but some tymes below in a Chayre ; to which are none admitted but of great qualetye, and few of these without leaue ; wher he discourses of all matters with much Affabilitye. Ther is noe busines done with him Concerning the state, gouerment, disposition of warr or peace, but at once of these two last Places, wher it is publiquely propounded, and resolued, and soe registred, which if it were woorth the Curiositye might bee seene for two shillings, but the Common basse people knew as much as the Councell, and the Newes euery day is the kings

new resolutions tossed and censured by euery rascall. This Course is unchangeable, except sickness or drink preuent yt; which must be known, for as all his Subjects are slaues, so is he in a kynd of reciprocall bondage, for he is tyed to obserue these howres and Customes so precisely that if he were unseene one day and noe sufficient reason rendred the people would mutinie; two dayes noe reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores and bee seene by some to satisfye others. On Tuesday at the *Jarruco* he sitts in Judgment, neuer refusing the poorest mans Complaynt, where hee heares with Patience both parts: and some tymes sees with too much delight in blood the execution done by his Eliphants. *Illi meruere: sed quid tu vt adesses?*

At the *Durbar* I was led right before him, at the entrance of an outward rayle, where mett mee two Principall Noble slaues to conduct mee nearer. I had required before my going leaue to vse the Customes of my Country, which was freely granted, soe that I would performe them Punctually. When I entred within the first rayle I made a reuerance; entering in the inward rayle a Nother; and when I came vnder the king a theird. The place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The king sitts in a little Gallery ouer head; Ambassidors, the great men and strangers of qualety within the inmost rayle vnder him, raysed from the ground, Couered with Canopyes of veluet and silke, vnder foote layd with good Carpetts; the Meaner men representing gentry within the first rayle, the people without in a base Court, but soe that all may see the king. This sitting out hath soe much affinitye with a Theatre—the manner of the king in his gallery; The great men lifted on a stage as actors; the vulgar below gazing on—that an easy description will informe of the place and fashion.

Here follows Terry's account, which it has to be noticed, is a more or less condensed version of the entry to be found in Roe's journal—

"First, early in the morning, at that very time the Sun begins to appear above the Horizon, He appears unto his people in a place very like unto one of our Balconies, made in his houses or Pavilions for his morning appearance, directly opposite to the East, about seven or eight foot high from the ground; against which time a very great number of his people, especially of the greater sort, who desire as often as they can appear in his eye, assemble there together, to give him the *Salam*, or good morning, crying all out, as soon as they see their King, with a loud voice, *Padsha Salamet*, which signifies, *live O great King, or O great King, health and life*......... At noon he shows himself in another place like the former, on the South-side; and a little before Sun-set, in a like place, on the West-side of his house or Tent; but as soon as the Sun forsakes the Hemisphear, he leaves his people, ushered in and out with Drums and Winde instruments, and the peoples acclamations......... And between seven and nine of the clock at night, he sits within his House or Tent more privately in a spacious place called his *Goozalcan*, or bathing house, made bright like day by abundance of lights; and here the King sits mounted upon a stately Throne; where his Nobles, and such as are favoured by him, stand about him; others find admittance to, but by special leave from his Guard, who cause every one that enters that place to breath upon them, and if they imagine that any have drunk wine, they keep him out."

"At this time my Lord Ambassadour made his usual addresses to him, and I often waited on him thither, and it was a good time to do business with that King, who then

was for the most part very pleasant, and full of talk unto those who were round him, and so continued till he fell asleep (oft times by drinking), and then all assembled immediately quitted the place, besides those who were his trusted servants, who by turns watched his Person."

The formalities and ceremonials of the Mogul court were so striking in their nature, the life of the Emperor was lived so much before the public gaze, the daily occupations of the sovereign were so regulated, the usual levees presented such a brilliant spectacle that these could not but come under the notice of all who came within the precincts of the royal court. Hence it is not to be wondered at that Hawkins has noted them for us in his own way, Hawkins who was a pensioner of the Emperor and whom the Emperor delighted to keep near his person—except when adverse intrigues triumphed over his natural inclinations.

Says Hawkins,—

Now here I meane to speake a little of his manners, and customes in the Court. First, in the morning about the breake of day, he is at his Beades, with his face turned to the West-ward. The manner of his praying when he is in Agra, is in a private faire roome, upon a goodly Jet stone, having onely a Persian Lamb-skinne under him: having also some eight chaines of Beads, every one of them containing foure hundred. The Beads are of rich Pearle, ballace Rubyes, Diamonds, Rubyes, Emeralds, Lignum Aloes, Eshem, and Corall. At the upper end of this Jet stone, the Pictures of our Lady and Christ are placed,

graven in stone: so he turneth over his Beads, and saith, three thousand two hundred words, according to the number of his Beads, and then his Prayer is ended. After he hath done, he sheweth himselfe to the people, receiving their *Salames*, or good morrowes, unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, hee sleepeth two houres more, and then dineth, and passeth his time with his Women, and at noone hee sheweth himselfe to the people againe, sitting till three of the clocke, viewing and seeing his Pastimes, and sports made by men, and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of Pastimes. Then at three of the clocke, all the Nobles in generall (that be in Agra, and are well) resort unto the Court, the King coming forth in open audience, sitting in his Seat-Royall, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of the Nobles standing within a red Rayle, and the rest without. They are all placed by his Lieutenant Generall. This red Rayle, is three steppes higher then the place where the rest stand: and within this red Rayle I was placed, amongst the chiefest of all. The rest are placed by Officers, and they likewise be within another very spacious place rayled: and without that Rayle, stand all sorts of horsemen and souldiers, that belong unto his Captaines, and all other commers. At these Rayles, there are many doores kept by many Porters, who have white rods to keepe men in order. In the middest of the place, right before the King, standeth one of his Sheriffes, together with his Master Hangman, who is accompanied with forty hangmen, wearing on their heads a certaine quilted cap, different from all others, with an Hatchet on their shoulders: and others with all sorts of Whips, being there, readie to doe what the King commandeth. *The King heareth all causes in this place, and stayeth some two houres every day (these Kings of India sit daily in Justice*

every day, and on the Tuesdayes doe their executions.) Then he departeth towards his private place of Prayer: his Prayer being ended, foure or five sorts of very well dressed and roasted meats are brought him, of which as hee pleaseth, he eateth a bit to stay his stomacke, drinking once of his strong drinke. Then hee commeth forth into a private roome, where none can come, but such as himselfe nominateth, (for two yeares together I was one of his attendants here). In this place he drinketh other five cupfuls, which is the portion that the Physicians alot him. This done, he eateth Opium, and then he ariseth, and being in the height of his drinke, he layeth him downe to sleepe, every man departing to his owne home. And after he hath slept two houres, they awake him, and bring his Supper to him, at which time he is not able to feed himselfe; but it is thrust into his mouth by others, and this is about one of the clocke: and then he sleepeth the rest of the night.

Curiously enough, about a century and a half after Hawkins, Terry and Sir Thomas Roe there appeared in England in the columns of the *Universal Magazine* for June, 1757, an account of the *Great Mogul* which reads like an echo of these.

I place this Mid-Eighteenth Century account before you, to enable you to judge for yourselves how close is the correspondence between this and the early seventeenth Century narratives, showing, among other things, that though the spirit and the vital force of the Mogul administration had vanished in those latter days, the outward forms still survived.

Few days pass without his appearing at sun-rising, and the lords of his Court are obliged to be then in his apartment, in order to pay him their homages. He shews himself also at noon, to see the fiightings of wild beasts; and at evening he appears at a window, from whence he sees the sun set. With that luminary he retires, amidst the noise of a great number of drums and the acclamations of his people. None are permitted to enter that palace but the Princes and great officers of State; who shew so great veneration for him that it is impossible to approach the most sacred things with more profound respect. They accompany all their discourse with continual reverences; they prostrate themselves before him at taking leave; they put their hands on their eyes, then on their breast, and lastly on the earth, to testify they are only dust and ashes in respect to him. They wish him all manner of prosperity as they retire, and go backward till they are out of sight.

When he marches at the head of his army, or takes the diversion of hunting, he is attended by above ten thousand men. About one hnndred elephants, covered with housings of scarlet velvet and brocade, march at the head of this little army: each carries two men, one of whom governs the animal, by touching his forehead with an iron hook, the other holding a large banner of silk embroidered with gold and silver; the first eight carry each a kettle-drum. In the middle of this troop the monarch rides, sometimes mounted on a fine Persian horse, sometimes in a chariot drawn by two white oxen, whose large spreading horns are adorned with gold, and sometimes in a *palanquine* supported by men. The Princes and great officers compose his retinue, and have five or six hundred elephants, camels or chariots following them, loaded with baggage.

The royal palace at Delhie is said to be four leagues in circumference, and fortified on every side. After passing

several courts and streets, separated by different gates, we at last arrive at the apartments of the Mogul, which are in the centre of the building. In the first salloon is a balustrade of silver, where the officers of the guard are posted ; nor are any except the great lords of the Court permitted to enter farther, without orders. This leads into the chamber of ceremony, where there is another balustrade of gold, inclosing the throne of massy gold, and profusely enriched with diamonds, pearls and other precious stones. None but the King's sons are permitted to enter this balustrade, or to fan themselves, in order to cool the air and drive away the flies.

Roe's letter to Lord Carew that I spoke of is dated Ajmere, the Court of the Mogul, Jan. 17, 1615 (—16), a portion of which I now place before you—

They have no written law. The king by his own word ruleth, and his governors of Provinces by that authority.[1] Once a week he sitteth in iudgement patiently, and giueth sentence for crimes Capitall and Ciuill. He is euery mans heir when he dyeth, which maketh him rich, and the Countrey so euill builded. The great men about him[2] are

[1] His power is so despotic that he has the sovereign disposal of the lives and effects of his subjects, his will is their only law: it decides all controversies, without any person daring to dispute it on pain of death. At his command alone the greatest lords are executed: their fiefs, their lands, their posts and offices are changed or taken from them. *The Universal Magazine for June, 1757.*

[2] It must not be imagined that the *Omrahs* or Lords of the Mogol's Court are members of ancient families, as our nobility in France. The King being proprietor of all the lands in the Empire, there can exist neither Dukedoms nor Marquisates ; nor can any family be found possessed of wealth arising from a domain and living upon its own patrimony. The courtiers are often not even descendants of *Omrahs*, because the King being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction. *Bernier.*

not borne Noble, but Fauorites raised; to whom hee giueth (if it be true) wonderfull meanes. They are reckoned by Horses; that is to say; Coronels of twelue Thousand Horses, which is the greatest (whereof are foure, besides his sonnes and wife); so descending to twentie Horses. Not that any of these are bound to keepe or raise any at all; but the King assigneth them so much land as is bound to maintaine so many Horses as a rent, each horse at fiue and twentie pounds sterling by the yeere, which is an incredible Reuenue giuen away, so many (that is, almost all but the Ploughmen, Artificers and Tradesmen in Townes) liuing upon it. But as they die and must needs gather, so it returneth to the King like Riuers to the sea, both of those he gave to, and of those that have gained by their owne industry. But for the most part he leaueth the widowes and children their horses, stuffe, and some other stocke, and then putteth them into a Signiory, if the fathers were of sixe or seuen thousand horses, perhaps of a thousand or fiue hundred; and so setteth them to begin the world anew, and aduanceth them as they deserue of him. They all rise by presenting him, which they striue to doe both richly and rarely, some giuing a hundred thousand pounds in iewels at a time.

Students of history will at once recognise the supreme interest which attaches to this letter because of the reference to the position of the Mogul peerage which was unquestionably a life-peerage and not a hereditary nobility—the reference to the fact, as Terry puts it, that "no subject in the Mogul empire hath land of inheritance nor have other title but the Kings will which makes some of the grandees to live at the height of their means; merchants also to

conceal their riches least they should be made sponges."

In the words of Stanley Lane Poole—

"To form the leading men of all races and creeds into one loyal corps, directly attached to the throne, Akbar established a sort of feudal, but not hereditary aristocracy called Mansabdars, who were in receipt of salaries or held lands direct from the crown, during the pleasure of the sovereign, on condition of military service. The dangers of a possible territorial aristocracy, into which this body of life-peers might have developed, were minimised by a regular system of inspection and a careful supervision of the rent-collection. The system worked admirably as long as it was strictly carried out. For nearly a century Hindu and Persian nobles loyally served their common sovereign in war and civil government of the country. It broke down only when religious intolerance sapped its strength."

But the letter under reference is also interesting because of what it says about the administration of justice in Mogul India. Indeed the jottings of our Seventeenth Century Travellers under this head, some of which have already been incidentally placed before you, have a special interest for us, as they are the observations of the representatives of an essentially justice-loving people at a stirring period in their own national history.

Let us take again, in illustration of what is here stated, this specimen out of the pages of Terry's Journal—

"The Emperour stiles himselfe, the King of Justice, the light of the Law of Mahomet, the Conquerour of the World. Himself mode:ates in all matters of consequence which happen neere his Court, for the most part judging, secundum allegata and probata. Tryals are quicke and so are Executions, hangings, beheadings, impaling, killing with Dogges, by Elephants, Serpents, and other like according to the nature of the Fact. The execution is commonly done in the Market place. The Governours in Cities and Provinces proceed in like forme of Justice. I could never heare of Law written amongst them: the King and his Substitutes will is Law. His Vice-gerents continue not long in a place, but to prevent popularitie receive usually a remove yearely. They receive his Letter with great respect; They looke for Presents from all which have occasion to use them, and if they be not often visited will aske for them, yea, send them backe for better exchange. The Cadee will imprison Debtors and Sureties, bound with hand and Seale: and men of power for payment will sell their persons, wives, and children, which the custome of the Land will warrant."

Permit me therefore in this connection to invite your attention further to the following statement in the *Memoirs* of Jahangir which I trust may help us in forming a correct estimate of the value of the information regarding the Mogul peerage and the Mogul administrative system supplied by the entries in the journals and narratives of these early European travellers:—

After my accession, the first order that I gave was for the fastening up of the Chain of Justice, so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay

or practise hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention. Its fashion was this: I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold 30 *gaz* in length and containing 60 bells. Its weight was 4 Indian maunds, equal to 42 'Iraqi maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shah Burj of the fort at Agra and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river. I also gave twelve orders to be observed as rules of conduct (*dasturu-l-'amal*) in all my dominions—

(1) Forbidding the levy of cesses under the names of *tamgha* and *mir bahri* (river tolls), and other burdens which the *jagirdars* of every province and district had imposed for their own profit.

(2) On roads where thefts and robberies took place, which roads might be at little distance from habitations, the *jagirdars* of the neighbourhood should build *sara'is* (public rest-houses), mosques, and dig wells, which might stimulate population, and people might settle down in those *sara'is*. If these should be near a *halisa* estate (under direct State management), the administrator (*mutasaddi*) of that place should execute the work.

(3) The bales of merchants should not be opened on the roads without informing them and obtaining their leave.

(4) In my dominions if anyone, whether unbeliever or Musalman, should die, his property and effects should be left for his heirs, and no one should interfere with them. If he should have no heir, they should appoint inspectors and separate guardians to guard the property, so that its value might be expended in lawful expenditure, such as the building of mosque and *sara'is*, the repair of broken bridges, and the digging of tanks and wells.

(5) They should not make wine or rice-spirit (*darbahra*) or any kind of intoxicating drug, or sell them; although I myself drink wine, and from the age of 18 years up till now, when I am 38, have persisted in it. When I first took a liking to drinking I sometimes took as much as twenty cups of double-distilled spirit; when by degrees it acquired a great influence over me I endeavoured to lessen the quantity, and in the period of seven years I have brought myself from fifteen cups to five or six. My times for drinking were varied; sometimes when three or four sidereal hours of the day remained I would begin to drink, and sometimes at night and partly by day. This went on till I was 30 years old. After that I took to drinking always at night. Now I drink only to digest my food.

(6) They should not take possession of any person's house.

(7) I forbade the cutting off the nose or ears of any person and I myself made a vow by the throne of God that I would not blemish anyone by this punishment.

(8) I gave an order that the officials of the Crown lands and the *jagirdars* should not forcibly take the ryot's lands and cultivate them on their own account.

(9) A government collector or a *jagirdar* should not without permission intermarry with the people of the *pargana* in which he might be.

(10) They should found hospitals in the great cities, and appoint physicians for the healing of the sick; whatever the expenditure might be, should be given from the *khalisa* establishment.

(11) In accordance with the regulations of my revered father, I ordered that each year from the 18th of Rabi'u-ll awwal, which is my birthday, for a number of days corresponding to the years of my life, they should

not slaughter animals (for food). Two days in each week were also forbidden, one of them Thursday, the day of my accession, and the other Sunday, the day of my father's birth. He held this day in great esteem on this account, and because it was dedicated to the Sun, and also because it was the day on which the Creation began. Therefore it was one of the days on which there was no killing in his dominions.

(12) I gave a general order that the offices and *jagirs* of my father's servants should remain as they were.

It may be noted in passing that in the pages of Thevenot, who is not the least observant and judicious of our 17th Century Travellers and who visited India in 1666, are to be found certain references to the Mogul officers at Surat, which bring us face to face with the practical working of the administrative system throughout the Mogul Empire. Says our Traveller—

There is a Mufty at Surat, who has the inspection over all that concerns the Mahometan Religion, and a Cady established for the Laws, to whom recourse is had in case of contest. The Great Mogul entertains another great Officer there, whom the Franks call Secretary of State, and whose duty much resembles that of the Intendant of a Province in France. He is called Vaca-Nevis,[1] that is,

[1] The *Vacaa-nuviss* or Remembrancer or Gazetteer and the *Sevananuviss* or Historiographer and the *Harcara* or Spy were appointed for writing down the events that might happen in the respective provinces, territories and districts of their residence. Their duty was to inhabit such cities and towns as were the seats of command and Government, to the end that they might have it in their power to write down at day-break such events as should have happened the whole day and night before, and to send the paper to the Emperor

who writes and keeps a Register of all that happens within the extent of the Country where he is placed. The King keeps one in every Government, to give him notice of all that occurs, and he depends on no Minister of State, but only on his Majesty.

There are two Governours or Nabad at Surat, who have no dependance one on another, and give an account of their actions only to the King. The one Commands the Castle, and the other the Town; and they encroach not upon one anothers rights and duties. The Governour of the Town Judges in Civil matters, and commonly renders speedy Justice: If a Man sue another for a debt, he must either shew an obligation, produce two witnesses, or take an Oath: If he be a Christian, he swears upon the Gospel; if a Moor, upon the Alcoran, and a Heathen swears upon the Cow. The Gentils Oath consists only in laying his hand upon the Cow; and saying, that he wishes he may eat of the Flesh of that Beast, if what he says be not true; but most of them chuse rather to lose their cause than to swear, because they who swear are reckoned infamous among the Idolaters.

The first time one goes to wait upon the Governour, as soon as they come they lay before him, five, six, or ten Roupies, every one according to his Quality; and in the Indies the same thing is done to all for whom they would

There were posts established that carried the despatches, with all speed and in all weathers to court, where a Daroga or Inspector examined the same: after which he reduced to a concise exposition the substance of such as deserved the Imperial notice, presenting at the same time, the whole detail as forwarded by the provincial intelligencers. Nevertheless whatever amongst those papers was addressed personally to the Emperor, was sacred and would not be set open by any other hand than his own. It was perused by the monarch himself who alone could break the seal, and he alone ordered what he thought proper about the contents.—*Seir Mutaqherin.*

shew great respect. This Governour meddles not at all in Criminal Affaires; an Officer named Cotoual takes cognizance of them. In Turkey he is called Sousbassa, and in Persia Deroga. He orders the Criminals to be punished in his presence, either by Whipping or Cudgelling, and that correction is inflicted many times in his House, and sometimes in the Street at the same place where they have committed the fault. When he goes abroad through the Town, he is on Horse-back, attended by several Officers on Foot, some carrying Batons and great Whips, others Lances, Swords, Targets, and Maces of Iron like the great Pestles of a Mortar; but all have a dagger at their sides. Nevertheless neither the Civil nor Criminal Judge can put any one to death. The King reserves that Power to himself; and therefore when any Man deserves death, a Courier is dispatched to know his pleasure, and they fail not to put his Orders in execution, so soon as the Courier is come back.

The Cotoual is obliged to go about the Street in the Night time, to prevent disorders; and sets guards in several places. If he find any Man abroad in the Streets, he commits him to Prison, and very rarely does he let him go out again, without being Bastonadoed or Whipt. Two of the Officers that wait on him, about nine of the Clock beat two little Drums, while a third sounds two or three times a long Copper-Trumpet, which I have described in my Voyage into Persia. Then the Officers or Serjeants cry as loud as they can, *Caberdar*, that's to say, *take heed*; and they who are in the Neighbouring Streets, answer with another cry, to shew that they are not asleep. After that they continue their round, and begin to cry again afresh until they have finished it. This round is performed thrice a Night, to wit, at nine of the Clock, Midnight, and three in the Morning.

The Cotoual is to answer for all the Robberies committed in the Town; but as generally all that are put into that Office, are very cunning, so they find always evasions to come off without paying. Whil'st I was at Surat, an Armenian Merchant was Robbed of two thousand four hundred Chequins, his name was Cogea Minas: Two of his Slaves absconding about the time of the Robbery, he failed not to accuse them of it; all imaginary enquiry was made after them, but seeing there was no news to be had neither of them nor of the Money, the report run that these Slaves had committed the Theft; and that they were concealed by some Moor that was in intelligence with them, who perhaps, to get all the Money had killed and buryed them, as it had already happened at Surat.

In the meantime the Governour told the Cotoual, that he must forthwith pay the Money, because if the Emperour came to know of the matter, all the fault would be laid at their door, that perhaps they might be served worse than to be made pay the Money that had been stollen from Cogea Minas, and that therefore they had best send for the Armenian, and learn from him how much he had really lost. The Cotoual said nothing to the contrary, but at the same time asked leave to commit him to Prison, and to put him and his servants to the Rack, that so by torture he might discover whether or not he had really lost the money, and if so, whether or not one of his own men had Robbed him. The Governour granted what he demanded; but no sooner was the news brought to the Armenian, but he desisted from pursuing the Cotoual, and chose rather to lose all than to suffer the torments that were designed for him. In this manner commonly the Cotoual comes off.

When any one is Robbed, this Officer apprehends all the People of the House both Young and Old where the

Robbery hath been committed, and causes them to be beaten severely. They are stretched out upon the Belly, and four Men hold him that is to be punished by the legs and arms, and two others have each a long whip of twisted thongs of leather made thick and round, wherewith they lash the Patient one after another, like Smiths striking on an Anvil, till he have received two or three hundred lashes, and be in a gore of blood. If at first he confess not the Theft, they whip him again next day, and so for several days more, until he hath confessed all, or the thing stolen be recovered again; and what is strange, the Cotoual neither searches his House of Goods, but after five or six days, if he do not confess he is dismissed.

At Surat there is a Prevost who is called Foursdar,[1] and he is obliged to secure the Country about, and to Answer for all the Robberies that are committed there; but I cannot tell if he be so crafty as the Cotoual. When they would stop any Person, they only cry *Doa-padecha*, which hath greater force than a Hue-and-cry; and if they forbid a Man to stir out of the place where he is, by saying *Doa-padecha*, he cannot go, without rendering himself criminal, and is obliged to appear before the Justice. This

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[1] The Fodjdars were next in rank to the Nazeems or Military Governors of the provinces, and men of great distinction and note.

The Fodjdar's special business was to take care that no overgrown Zemindar should make provisions of war instruments, such as musquets or wall-pieces, in any great quantity, or should put in repair any old fort, or raise a new one on his own account.

Another business of the Fodjdar was to give chase to banditti and highwaymen, so as to prevent their finding a place of retreat; he was to hunt them down wherever he could discover any of their footsteps, and to put them to the sword as soon as he had seen them.

The Fodjdars together with the Mansobdars, the Paymasters, the Remembrancers, the Gazetteer, the secret-writer, the head spy, the *Cazy* or *judge*, the *Mufty or Bishop*—all these were immediate servants of the Crown.—*Seir Mutaqherin.*

cry is used all over the Indies; after all, there are but fines imposed at Surat, the People live there with freedome enough.

Today I cannot afford to speak about the Mogul Court and the Mogul administrative system as exhaustively and as critically as I should like to do. I trust I may have another opportunity of doing so on some future occasion. But when one thinks of the many things which are prominently brought to our notice by the Seventeenth Century European Travellers, when we think of the formalities and the ceremonials at the Court which the Mogul Omrahs looked upon as essentials of life, the punctiliousness *e.g.* about the red rail, the riches of the Mogul sovereigns, their splendour, their love of magnificence and yet their delight in petty things; their architectural achievements not the meanest of which is that splendid Sepulchre at Sikandra, the capricious proceedings of Jahangir's impulsive personality: when we think of all these, the force of that saying is brought home to the historical student, as I believe it is brought home to all of us at times,—what shadows we are and what shadows we pursue!

And yet through it all comes a supremely inspiring lesson, the lesson of hope and of constant endeavour, the conviction that through the ages one increasing purpose runs and the thoughts of men are widened with the process

of the suns. The voice of the true historian is ever luring us on to follow the gleam; for along with the poet and the scientist, the truth which he proclaims is the fact of the constant progression of the human race.

> Men, my brothers, men the workers,
> ever reaping something new:
> That which they have done but an earnest
> of the things that they shall do.

Could the poor despised Historian work on, if he did not believe in the truth of this?

ADDENDUM

Of the succeeding voyages, the one which set forth under Thomas Best deserves more than a passing notice. He came out to India with the direction of two ships in 1611, brought letters likewise from king James, and presents to the Great Mogul, Shah Saleem (afterwards called Jehangir) then at Agra on the 21st October, 1612; he settled articles of trade with the Mogul Governor of Ahmedavat and Surat, of which he afterwards received a confirmation from the Mogul, in a Firmaun dated at Agra the 25th January, 1613; whereby among other things, it was stipulated that there should be a perpetual peace and free commerce between the Mogul's subjects and the English in all parts of his dominions; that all English goods should pay custom at the rate of 3½ p.c. upon the value or price they were worth when put into the Custom House, and that it should be lawful for the King of England to keep and continue an ambassador at the court of the Great Mogul during the time of the said peace and commerce, there to compound and end all such great and weighty questions as might anyway lead to a breach of the said peace.

In the narrative of Best's voyage we have to note specially his coming (September 1612) with a fresh fleet all unaware of the difficulties of his pedecessor, his favourable reception due, apparently, to the terror inspired by Middleton's proceedings; the conclusion of a trading agreement, as already stated, with the local officials, confirmed in general terms by a firman from the court; the repulse of an attack made upon the English by a Portuguese fleet from Goa; and finally Best's departure

for Achin (January 1613) leaving Thomas Aldworth to take charge of the factory at Surat and Paul Canning to go up to Agra, carrying fresh letters and presents for the Great Mogul.[1]

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[1] *Vide* Introduction to the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (Haqluit Society)

The Factory in India in the Seventeenth Century

I

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-STUDENTS :

I propose to speak to you to-day about the organisation of factory life in India in the Seventeenth Century. I begin by stating at the outset that the Factory in the India of the Seventeenth Century was very much like the College of Mediæval times in Europe.

"The College," says Rashdall in his work on the Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, "was a self-governing community, obliged to obey its own Statutes and its own officers, but still a community like a monastery or a secular chapter, every member of which (no matter of of what standing) was under tolerably strict discipline himself, while he was expected to take more or less part in maintaining the discipline of the House." So also, I venture to think, was the Factory in the India of the Seventeenth Century.

Thus while its political aspect necessarily engages the attention of the historical student in the first place, we are not justified in overlooking

the interest which also attaches to its social and to its economic aspects. Hence I desire to say just a word in reference to the responsibility which the Company felt in regard to the life and conduct of their servants in India.

It should not surprise any of my friends to be told that there were a number of facetious, humourous characters among the servants of the Company employed in India. I give below a sample of the poetical effusion of one of these, which contains remorseful confessions of his inability to withstand the charms of Indian beauty, these confessions, be it noted, being contained in a communication addressed to the authorities at home :—

"In eche of them he fint somewhat
That pleseth him, or this, or that.
Some one, for she is white of skinne,
Some one, for she is noble of kinne.
Some one, for she hath a rosy cheke,
Some one, for that she semeth meke,
Some one, for she hath eyen grey,
Some one, for she can laugh and pley,
Some one, for she is longe and small,
Some one, for she is lite and tall,
Some one, for she is pale and blenche,
Some one, for she is softe of speche,
Some one, for she can dance and sing,
So that something of his liking
He fint, and tho no more he fele

But that she hath a litel hele,
It is inough, that he therefore
Her love, and thus a hundred score."

This is the veritable jingle of Touchstone, but perhaps without Touchstone's wisdom and philosophy. We may hence guess what a joyous, laughter-loving fellowship these characters would have constituted had they been left entirely to themselves by their masters in London. Obviously the Company could not afford to do this in the interest of their trade. They undertook, from the beginning of their career, the duty and the responsibility of attending to the moral and spiritual needs of their servants in India. It should here be noted that the relation between the master and the servant in the Seventeenth Century was not that purely contractual relation based on pecuniary considerations which it has come to be in our days. The old-world ideas of the relation between the landed country gentry and their tenantry and dependents which were to give way before the advance of the industrial revolution of the Eighteenth Century were still in the ascendant, and very largely affected men's dealings with one another.

On various occasions, we find that the Company in authoritative communications addressed to their agents repeated their instructions regarding the regulation of life and conduct on the part of their servants and dependents.

To this policy they throughout steadily adhered, with what amount of success need not here be discussed, as I hope will be seen from a rather long extract which I give below from a public letter from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to Bengal, dated 25th May, 1798. I trust the length of the extract is justified by its interest and importance.

An objurgation on the character and conduct of the servants of the Company.

70. Conceiving it a duty incumbent upon us to afford our civil and military servants, and all Christians living under our protection, professing the Protestant religion, the means of attending Divine service, in which we trust, those in superior station will set the example, we most cheerfully acquiesce in your proposal for erecting chapels in the progressive manner pointed out in the 63rd paragraph of the letter to which we are now replying, such edifices to be as plain and simple as possible, that all unnecessary expense may be avoided.

71. Having thus, as far as depends upon us, provided for the due observance of public worship on the sabbath-day, we cannot avoid mentioning the information we have received, that at the military stations it is no uncommon thing for the solemnity of the day to be broke in upon by horse-racing, whilst Divine worship, (for which the sabbath is especially enjoined to be set apart) is never performed at any of those stations, though chaplains are allotted to them. And we have now before us a printed horse-racing account, by which it appears that not less than eight matches were run at Chinsurah in one day, and that on

a Sunday. We are astonished and shocked at this wide deviation from one of the most distinguishing and universal institutions of Christianity. We must suppose it to have been so gradual, that transitions from one step to another have been little observed; but the stage at which it is now arrived, if our information be true, must appear to every reasonable man, highly discreditable to our Government, and totally incompatible with the religion we profess.

72. To preserve the ascendancy which our national character has acquired over the minds of the natives of India, must ever be of importance to the maintenance of the political power we possess in the East, and we are well persuaded that this end is not to be served either by a disregard of the external observances of religion, or by any assimilation to Eastern manners and opinions, but rather by retaining all the distinctions of our national principles, character and usages. The events which have recently passed in Europe, point out that the present is least of all the time in which irreligion should be promoted or encouraged; for with an attachment to the religion which we profess, is found to be intimately connected an attachment to our laws and constitution; besides which, it is calculated to produce the most beneficial effects in society; to maintain in it the peace, the subordination, and all the principles and practices on which its stability and happiness depend.

73. We therefore enjoin that all such profanations of the sabbath, as have been mentioned, be forbidden and prevented; and that Divine service be regularly performed, as in England, every Sunday, at all the military stations; and all European officers and soldiers, unless hindered by sickness or actual duty, are to be required punctually to attend, for which such an hour is to be fixed as shall

be most suitable to the climate. The chaplains are to be positively ordered to be regular and correct in the performance of their duty, and if any one of them neglect or by his conduct bring discredit on his profession, we direct that he be dismissed from our service.

74. We rely on the ready obedience of the commanding officers at the different stations, in carrying this necessary regulation into execution, and particularly depend on the attention of our Commander-in-Chief, and of our Governor-General for giving it full effect.

75. We are here naturally led to remark, exclusive of what relates to the public institutions of religion, that the general tenor of the Indian newspapers, and periodical publications which come under our inspection, as well as the private informations which reach this country, concur in exhibiting an increasing spirit of luxury and dissipation in our principal settlements, and even at some of the subordinate stations.

76. This suggests to us much matter of very serious concern and apprehension. It points to evils incalculable in their consequences. One inference immediately arising from it is, that either the general scale of allowances and emoluments in our service is too large, or that by an improvident use of them, a principle of new wants and new desires is kept in too much activity, and thus a tone is given to the general manners most contrary to that regulated economy on which so much turns the welfare of Governments, and the comfort, independence, and respectability of individuals.

77. It is on the qualities of our servants that the safety of the British possessions in India essentially depends; on their virtue, their intelligence, their laborious application, their vigilance and public spirit. We have

seen, and do still with pleasure see, honourable examples of all these; we are anxious to preserve and increase such examples, and therefore cannot contemplate without alarm, the excessive growth of fashionable amusements and show, the tendency of which is to enervate the mind, and impair its nobler qualities, to introduce a hurtful emulation in expense, to set up false standards of merit, to confound the different orders in society, and to beget an aversion to serious occupations.

78. This taste in a society which, with an exception of the article of commercial gains, a source by no means general, derives its whole income mediately or immediately from the State, is especially to be deprecated. The progressive wealth and prosperity of any country, do indeed too naturally increase luxury and its attendant evils; but where this order is inverted, and luxury increases, whilst the grand source that supplies it remains without proportionate augmentation, as is the case of the land revenue of Bengal, now unalterably fixed in its amount, the consequences must be eventually ruinous, unless a system so preposterous is effectually checked.

79. Believing that the enjoyment of avowed, honourable allowances, would tend to promote, among other beneficial effects, a due regulation of expense, the Company have, from such considerations, straitened their own means to put their servants on the most liberal footing; but whilst they feel themselves weighed down by the civil and military charges of their establishments, they are still frequently assailed in one way or another, by new applications for pecuniary concessions; and yet at the same time that we hear of straits and hardships resulting from inadequate allowances, we not only discern evident marks of increasing dissipation in the general habits of European

society in India, but in some of them a spirit of gaming publicly shewing itself in lotteries, and the keen pursuits of the turf.

80. We must here mention the information we have received that some individals at, and under your Presidency, have lately introduced the pernicious practice of gaming to a very considerable extent, which must be ultimately ruinous to many. As we cousider such practices to be totally incompatible with the interest of the Company, we earnestly recommend it to our Governor-General, to endeavour to discover the names of those concerned therein, and if his admonitions should be unavailing in putting a stop thereto, we authorize him to make an example of the person or persons who may be the principal promoters of such licentiousness, by removing them from office, and sending them to Europe.

81. As in this general subject none of our Presidencies on the Continent of India is wholly unconcerned, it will behove our several governments there to bestow a very serious attention upon it, and to consider of the means of which, in the way of regulation, influence or retrenchment, the growing taste for expensive living, amusements and display may be repressed. Especially we recommend this interesting subject to the care of our Governor-General, to whom we are persuaded it will appear in its just importance, and from whose judgment and example we shall confidently hope for a co-operation with our views.

82. Indeed we are disposed to believe, that many persons give into modes of expense less from inclination than the fear of being singular, and we think it will be worthy of our servants who are honourably distinguished by character, talents or situation, to be distinguished also for moderation and frugality in their habits of living.

As one of the earliest instances of the Company's solicitude in regard to this subject, I place before you the following from the instructions given by the Governor and Committee of the Company to Lawrence Femmell, the principal factor and the other factors employed in the Sixth voyage set forth by them in 1610:—

"11. And because there is noe means more prevalent to strengthen and Confirme the waies of the godlie in righteousnes then the spiritt of God wch is the guide vnto all good motions, and noe ayde more pregnant to support and uphould the siner from fallinge into wickednes then the grace of God wch preserueth in all good work and that almighty god out of his Mercy in Ihesus Christe hath promysed not onlie to here vs when we call vpon him, but alsoe to graunte vs his spiritt of grace to strengthen and assiste vs in all accons wch Sathan or the world can inforce against vs, wee exhorte you in the feare of god to be very carefull to assemble together yor whole familie eury morninge and eveninge And to Ioyne together in all humility wth harty prayer to almighty god for his mrcifull proteccon and favor to you in all your proceeding and for all other his graces needfull for a true Christian to desier.

12. And for that Ciuell behauior is very Requisite for the begettinge of loue and estimacon amongst those heathenishe people we pray you to settle such modest and sober government in yor houshould that neyther amongst themselues there bee contentious quarrells or other occesions of strife wch may tend to the preiudice of or affaires and be a scandull to our profession and religion, As alsoe that none of yor people giue

just cause to any stranger to Complaine of their misdemeanors.

13. And because we desier the honor of or kinge and the reputacon of or traffique amongst them we wishe you to comporte yor selfe, both in yor habitt and howse keepinge in such comelie and convenient manner as neyther may disparadge or business nor be accompted too excessiue in expences."

Before passing from this part of my subject, I crave your indulgence just slightly to anticipate one of my later topics, and invite reference to a Letter from Surat in India which gives an account of the manners of the English factors and their way of civil converse and pious comportment and behaviour in these parts. The letter is dated January, 1671 *i.e.*, N.S. 1672, and there is little doubt that Sir Streynsham Master, the Madras worthy who presided over Fort St. George from 1677 to 1681 is the writer. I here extract two or three relevant little bits out of this, which is obviously a document of considerable historical interest:—

The English performe all their Publike Devotions in the Company's Factory house, where there is a Roome sett apart on Purpose in the manner of a chapell for Divine Worshipp.

"Now Sr: by reason I presume it will be much to your content to know how and in what manner we performe the dutyes of Religion, I shall therefore proceed to give you a partiall account of the custome of the English Church, Waving the Dutch and Romanist and Armenian as not being soe well acquainted with theirs as our owne."

"To begin methodically that I may soe go on. On board our shipps in their voyages from England hither there is excellent orders kept for the Civill Government of the Seamen and Passengers; the Commander Fixeth up publickly in the Steerage a paper of orders, that all Persons shall come to Prayers Morning and Evening; None to be Drunke, to Swear, lye, Quarrell &ca. and those that doe offend are either to Pay a Pecuniary Mulct or suffer Corporall Punishment. Soe in the Shipps we had (have?) constantly Prayers Morning and Evening, on Sundays the Service of the Church and Sermons read forenoone and afternoone, and when there is a Minister in the Shipp there is the Sacrament administered commonly once in the voyage: if any Person be sick he is prayed for, if any Dye, Decent buryall is used: this custom on board shipp is improved to a More excellent order and Method on shoare at your Presidency in Surrath as I shall here relate unto you."

"The Hon'ble: Company in the yeare 1668 sent out a Printed Paper of Rules and orders to which they required strict observance and due compliance, which therefore some called the Company's Commandements, because there are just 10 of them; this Paper is Publikely affixed in the house for the information of all Persons, which indeed are good and Pious directions, but therr is noe Penalty sett upon the Breach of them, except in the greatest offences of open Debauchery and Prophanes, from which there is no hope of amendment in the Party guilty, and then such are by these orders required to be sent for England, as unworthy to reside in a Christian Plantation; I say these Rules and orders of the Company's not requiring any Penalty for the breach of them, the President and Councill thought fitt to continue their owne orders which have been many yeares in the Factory, wherein

sever Penalties are required for omission of Prayer and Divine Service and Commission of any Debauchery, and these orders are much more sutable to the place and custome of the Country for the well Government of our People. then the others are. By these he that omitts Prayer on a Weeke day pays 2s: 6d: on a Sunday 5s. If any be Drunke or abuse the Natives they are to be sett at the gate in Irons all the day time, and all the Night be tyed to a Post in tha house; If any lye out of the House, without leave of the President, he pays 40s: and these Penaltys are some of them, allmost as often inflicted, as the offences are Committed, Soe that by the smart thereof and the good example of the President and Councell here is most excellent govern'd Factory, indeed more like into a Colledge, Monasterie, or a house under Religious orders then any other, for we have much more Discourse of Religion, Philosopie, the Government of the Passions and affections, and sometimes of history, then of trade and getting Mony for ourselves, though that allsoe be in noe manner neglected on the Companys behalfe, yet for our owne Particular I believe there is noe Marchants have less regard to it, and one principall reason for it is, because we are provided of things necessary at the Companys charge, and being at small expence, though our Wages be very little, we esteem our selves Provided for, and the future seems to us as the day of ones Death doth to Many, but small provision to be made for it.

We have a rather interesting piece of evidence in the India Office Records, to which a passing reference may be made in this connection, though it relates to a considerably later date *viz.* 1729. The evidence in question is

supplied by a catalogue of the Library of Fort St. George which enables us to judge of the nature of the reading in vogue, and the particular books in demand, in the Settlement. There is of course the Bible—besides which the catalogue includes works on Domestic Medicine, on Cholera Morbus, on Field Fortification. We also find works on Cookery, on Farriery and on Games and Sports. There are solid reference books, such as Johnson's Dictionary, as also Persian, Arabic and Hindusthani Dictionaries. The various departments of Belles Letters—Poetry, prose as well as fiction, are also fairly represented—for we find in the list, among others, Don Quixote, Macpherson's Ossian, Plutarch's Lives, Shakespeare, Gibbon, Robertson, Hume and Smollett. Fanny Burney must have been the delight of the Settlement—for it is to be noticed that the Waverley, the centenary of whose first appearance, I trust, will be suitably commemorated here within these walls, had not yet come and the historical romances of Scott had not yet captured popular imagination. Those were not also the days of sociological and anthropological studies—studies with which the names of Max Muller, Tylor and Westermark are in England honourably associated, and in which not a few Indian civil servants have since distinguished themselves and won their laurels.

The writer of the letter goes on to say—

To return to my Promise Sir: to give you account of our Religious Acts; we have Prayers every Morning Before the Dores of the Factory are open, and every night between 8 and 9 o' Clock after the Dores are shutt: upon Sundays we have twice in the day Solemn Service and Sermons Read or Preached, and Prayers at Night, this office is performed by the President, and in case of his absence by the chiefe of the Councell or other next in the Factory if there be noe Minister (or *Padre* as we call them). If there be a Minister in the Factory then he performs his duty as in churches in England, Catechizing the youth on Sundays after evening Service, and administering the Sacrament the 3 great Festivals of the yeare, and some times oftener, Burying the Dead, And in these Dutys we are continually exercised, keeping stricktly to the Rules of the Church, and soe much as conveniently we can observing the times and days appointed for Feasts and Fasts, for upon the great Feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide we have the solemn Service, Publike Feasts, and noe great busynes permitted to be done in the Factory house, and all the Country People know why we are soe Solemn, and Feast and are Merry, So allsoe for Gun Powder Treason day, and on the 29th of May for the Kings Birth and Returne. And upon the Principall Fasts we have very strickt Fasts kept, noe busyness done in the house, and the Publicke Prayers used upon the occasion, as in Lent, especially upon Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, the 30th of January for the Martyrdom of King Charles the First, and some persons there are, of which the President is one, that keep Weekly Fasts upon every Friday. Tho' our Fasts here are not as the Romanists and as our Church seems to Direct,

abstinence from Flesh and eating of Fish, but a meane dyett, without distinction of meates; nay generally none untill night, but Prayers and retirement.

In time of Warr or any eminent Danger or Common Calamity, as want of Rain & ca. we concerne ourselves as Mutuall Members, and Supplicators for the good of the Country, and make our Publike Prayers for good Assistance and Releife, and keep such days of Fasting and Prayer for Gods blessing on our owne Country as we hear are appointed in England; and upon victory, good success, or obtaining Releife, Returne Praise to the Allmighty for His Blessings; thus we Rejoyce with them that Rejoyce and weep with them that weep; if it please God to visit any of our fellow servants with sickness or any other Malady or Mishap, I think there is noe place where more Christian Compassion. and Charity is exercised for their Releife, whether it be for Distemper of Body, disquiet of Mind, or in want and necessity, and truly in this particular the example and practice of the Natives in generall is very eminent, they being a very Compassionate People; if any be soe sick that he appeares to draw towards his end, if there be a Minister in the Factory he attends him with Prayer and administration of the Sacrament, others communicating with the sick; if there be noe *Padry* here, others of us Read and Pray with him; the manner of our Burying is soe Decent that the Natives (who are allsoe very decent in that Particular) though they may not come near a Dead Corps by reason they esteeme it a Polluting or defiling themselves, nay to some it is Pollution to see, hear, or Speake of a Corps, yet they will behold our Buryalls, and at the Funerall for Sr. George Oxinden the Streets, Belconys, and tops of the houses were soe full as they could stand one by another. At the Grave after the Corps is enterred, there

is Mony throwne and given to the Poore People ; and our Burying Place, which is large and spacious, is adorned with severall great and many handsome Tombs and Monuments, which many of the great Men of the Country esteem worth their Sight.

"Thus Sr. having acquainted you how we live and dye and in what manner we bury our Dead here in SURRATT, I shall now proceed to give you some small account of our Lives and Practices in other Places by Land and at Sea in these parts wherein I have been myselfe and soe can informe you by my own Experience.

"I have been up in our Inland Factorys at BROACH and AHMADAVAD where we have had but very few together, 2, 3, 4 and 5, soe that for the most part for 5 and 6 months there hath been but 2 of us in the Factory, the lowest in number to which our Saviour Promised His presence, and we have there constantly used Divine Service twice every Lords Day and read Sermons.

"I have been at sea in English Shipps that have newly come out of England, and in others that have stayed in the Country downe the Coast of INDIA and Mallabar, and in those Shipps we have used the same Exercise of Divine Service as our Shipps doe in their Voyages out, as I have before rehearsed. I have been allsoe in our Factorys upon the Coast of India, as at Carwarr and Callecut, at Mocha in the Redd Sea, at Gombroon in Persia, and at Bussora at the Bottom of the Persian Gulph, and in all these places we allways observed the Dutys of the Lords day very solemnly, never doeing any Busynes upon that day but the performance of Divine Service, though upon other days for most part the publike Prayers were omitted, by reason our stay was but Short, busynes much, and the factory

could not but be disturbed with the Concernes thereof, the Natives Comeing and going at unseasonable and uncertain times.

"I have allsoe been at Sea in the vessells of the Country, where we have had but half a Dozen English in a Shipp and all the Rest of the Shipps Company Indians Called Lascars, which have been 30 or 40 beside Passengers in a Shipp of 2 or 300 Tonn; But the English were Masters of the Shipp, that is at Sea, though Imployed by the Native Indians, Moores and Banians, and in this Shipp or Jounke we had Prayers as Constant as in our owne Shipps, which we performed in the Round house or Masters Cabbinn. And in neither of all those places, either at Sea or on Shoare, doe the Natives give us any Disturbance in our Religions Exercises by Comeing among us for their Curiosity or other reason whatsoever; but the Dores of our Factory houses are generally Shut and all our Indian Servants sitt at or without the Dore, with the porter all the time of Divine service, permitting noe persons to come in the interime. But India is Inhabited with soe many Severall Nations of People, all exercising their owne way of Worshipp, that it is noe Strange thing to them to hear of People of a Different Religion from themselves; for they esteem none the worse for that reason; But say God Allmighty hath constituted many People and Natives in the World to be of divers Religions and to serve him Severall Ways; as a Prince and great Man hath Many Servants of Severall Degrees and offices, but they all doe him Service, every one according to his office."

What then are the conclusions which we are justified in drawing from the materials before us regarding the conditions of factory life in

India in the Seventeenth Century? I think we may take it that on the whole the Company was a kind and indulgent master, fully alive to its responsibilities for the regulation of the life and conduct of its employees in India. All the servants of the Company posted at a particular station lived in the Company's Factory house. In this connection, in confirmation of what is here stated, I give below an entry from Master's Diary under date November 25th, 1676, which he had written in course of a tour of inspection through Bengal.

"There being a spott of ground, part of the Compound of the Companyes ffactory which lyes conveniently neare the river side (at Dacca), it was thought fitt to repaire and enclose it, and to sett up Bungales or Hovells for a habitation for all such English in the Companyes Service as belong their Sloope and vessells (by name of the Bundar) as there is at Surratt, and those that now live out in houses of their owne by degrees to be brought in within that compound, and all others that shall come hereafter to live within the same, and to be allowed to such accommodation as they shall desire if they be marryed, and all persons soe liveing to be under the inspection of the Purser-marine, and to live under such orders as they shall receive from time to time from the Cheife and Council."

May we not compare these Bunglows and Hovels set up at Dacca in 1676 with the quarters which the present British Indian Government provides for its servants in outlying stations throughout India ?

We note further that there were stated hours for daily prayers, attendance at which was strictly enforced, a room in the Factory house being set apart for use as a Chapel. Fines were imposed for drinking, swearing and sleeping out of the factory. There was evidently a common table. Truly in certain essential respects the Seventeenth Century Factory in India was like the College in Mediaeval Europe, in one of the best regulated of which institutions, namely, that of William of Wykeham, we find "a comprehensive prohibition of all struggling, chorus-singing, dancing, leaping, singing, shouting, tumult and inordinate noise, pouring forth of water, beer, and all other liquors and tumultuous games in the Hall, on the ground that they were likely to disturb the occupants of the Chaplain's Chamber below."

As further illustrative evidence bearing on the present point, I extract the following entry from the diary of Sir William Hedges under date April 17, 1683 :—

"Upon information given me by most of the Factory that James Harding, now entertained by Mr. Charnock as his servant, had formerly

been dismissed the Hon'ble Company's service for blasphemy and atheistical tenets and that he was a person notoriously scandalous both in life and conversation, I ordered him not to eat at the Company's table, and reproved Mr. Charnock for entertaining so vicious a person."

The Factory in India in the Seventeenth Century

II

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-STUDENTS :

In various issues of the Calcutta Weekly *Englishman* appeared in this city parts of a work relating to India by Dr. John Fryer, F.R.S., which had originally appeared in London in 1698. These parts were collected and published in book form later in 1873 together with the account of some travels by Sir Thomas Roe. That a book like Dr. Fryer's *New Account*, which is a store-house of information regarding India in the 17th Century and which contains a faithful record of his own observations during a fairly long and protracted stay in India in the service of the East India Company, should have remained for years out of print, little noticed and practically forgotten till a carefully collated edition of the book was published by the London Haqluit Society in 1909, suggests melancholy reflections, and is indicative of the general neglect into which the study of the History of India had fallen in India itself.

This takes our mind back to the days of that fateful controversy between the Orientalists

and the advocates of Western learning, especially to the concluding stages of that controversy, in course of which Macaulay's slashing rhetoric, with its fatal facility for exaggeration, dashed off the judgment that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." We are also made to think of the first few decades after the establishment of Universities in India. As in the first years of the Renaissance in Europe when the capture of Constantinople by the Turks threw open to the public the rich treasures of classical antiquity, men's minds were absorbed in the study of classical literature and classical philosophy, so the minds of Indian youths, after the institution of Universities in India on the European model, were dazzled by the rich treasures of Western art and Western philosophy. The clarion call of J. S Mill's Sociological Philosophy; Burke's historical imagination with its strong appeal at once to our reason and to our sentiment; the picture-gallery to be found in the pages of Chaucer; the play of passion, the possibilities of human perfection as also the abysmal depths of depravity and degradation to which human nature can be made to stoop as revealed in the pages of Shakespeare; these are some of the things which had a supreme attraction for the Indian student. The study of the history of his own land occupied but a minor

place in his estimation. He had little conception of the possibilities of that study—of the wide field of patient research and fruitful investigation which lies stretched before it.

And as to Oriental Classical Literature—Sanskrit and Arabic—popular opinion seems to have been crystallised in an oft-quoted but startlingly inaccurate characterisation contained in Dr. Duff's declaration to the effect that he had fished long in the sea of Oriental Literature but had found no pearl in it. If the movement for reform in Indian Universities which culminated in the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission and the passing of the Indian Universities Act has succeeded in any direction, it has succeeded in giving us a more correct perspective of things, and has helped us to a truer appreciation of the relative importance of the various branches of study which ought to find a place in a scheme of liberal education in a country like Modern India. The strong stimulus given to the publication of vernacular books, the steadily increasing interest in the study of Indian History, the fostering of that critical mental attitude without which research is but an empty search, the conviction that it is possible to reconstruct the past of our homeland by patient endeavour—let us gratefully attribute all these to our reformed Universities.

To come back to Dr. Fryer—who was he? We have an account of our Doctor, the narrator, in that book of worthies, the monumental Dictionary of National Biography.

That account is rather meagre. But fortunately there is no doubt about a few simple fundamental facts regarding him. He took his Doctor's Degree at Cambridge, and came out to India as a Surgeon in the service of the Company. The Court Minutes, dated 11th September, 1672, states that "The Committee for shipping are desired to consider the entertainment of Mr. Fryer, a chyrurgeon for Surat, who is recommended by a Committee to be a skilful and experienced artist in that profession, and to doe therein as they shall find him deserving." Accordingly he was appointed to the post and on 13th December, 1672, a few days after Fryer sailed from England, the Company wrote as follows to the authorities at Surat: "We have entertained Mr. John Fryer as Chirurgeon for Bombay at 50S. per month to commence at his arrival, and have furnished the chirurgery chest now sent according to the directions of Mr. Ward." Fryer was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, though he is not known to have contributed anything to the Philosophical Transactions. He probably owed his election to his general sympathy with scientific research, which is amply evidenced by his New Account of East India.

He had many opportunities of observing the organisation of Factory life not merely at Surat, but also at Bombay and at Madras—and he incorporated the results of his acute observations in his book, which is thus a most valuable source of information to us regarding the life and condition and official duties of the Company's servants in the 17th Century.[1] Before bringing forward the information which may be gleaned from Fryer's account, and asking you to compare this with what may be gathered from that speculative chapter in Tavernier's Travels to which I invited your attention on a previous occasion, I should like to place before you the actual orders of the Company regarding the gradations of service and the relation between their various factories. If the results to be naturally expected from a study of the regulations issued by the Company correspond to the state of things

[1] Dr. Fryer, the physician, sailed from England on the 9th of December 1672, arrived on the coast of Coromandel in June, and from hence at Bombay in December 1673. In September 1674 he went to Surat, and returned to Bombay in April 1675 : in May he travelled to Jenneah Gur, and after the rains in October sailed from Bombay for Carwar, and went from hence to Goa in December. In the beginning of 1676 he went to Vingorlah, then to Gocuru, in the Carnatic country ; and having passed the rains of this year at Carwar, went again to Goa in October, and from hence arrived in December at Surat. In February 1677 he sailed from Surat for Gombroon, and continued in Persia until the 30th of November 1678, when he embarked on his return, and arrived at Surat on the 6th of January 1679, where he seems to have continued until he sailed for England in January 1681.

Orme,

described by Fryer, and if this in its turn tally with the conclusions to be drawn from the data on which Tavernier's speculations and specific recommendations are based, we shall have presented before us a most convincing case of historical coincidence.

Let me here recall to your mind that the noble Pietro Della Valle paid a visit to Surat in 1623, and has given us vivid glimpses of factory life in India in the first quarter of the 17th Century not only among the Hollanders, but also in the English settlement at Surat. We gather that Thomas Rastel was the English President at the time, he being Superintendent of all their trade in East India and Persia. The English President as also the Dutch Commendator used to live in considerable splendour. The President of the Hollanders, for example, we are told, lived "in a goodly palace which hath many distinct apartments, with several entrances into a court, like so many different houses, only included within the same wall, which is entered into by one great gate. Here the Commendator holds the best, the largest apartment to himself; in the rest lodge some of their gravest merchants, which are of the council for the management of affairs, in order to their better convenience and union, besides many others of inferior condition which live out of this great enclosure, dispersed elsewhere in the City and when occasion requires,

they all repair to the palace of the Commendator. "

You will thus observe how the information to be gleaned from the notes of Streynsham Master corresponds to the account left behind by Pietro Della Valle, although the two are separated by an interval of nearly half a century.

One short glimpse of the social amenities of the period. We find that there was a sort of rivalry between the English President and the Commendator of the Hollanders for the honour of entertaining the foreign visitor, and our traveller was right royally welcomed by the English as also the Dutch. He writes, "on Saturday morning we conversed together for some time, drinking a little of hot wine, boiled with cloves, cinnamon and other spices which the English call *burnt wine*, and use to drink frequently in the morning to comfort the stomack, sipping it by little and little for fear of scalding, as they do *cahae* (coffee). And they use it particularly in the winter to warm themselves, though in India it is not necessary for that end, because albeit it was still winter, according to our division of the seasons, yet we had more heat than cold. "

The *burnt wine* would remind my friends of *punch*, which is spoken of both by Dr. Fryer and Mandelslo, obviously so called from the five

ingredients, spirit, lemon or lime juice, spice, sugar and rosewater used in its composition, and which thus turns out to be an Anglo-Indian speciality. As to coffee, my friends would notice later on what Mandelslo has to say about it and *cha* (tea) respectively.

I give here only what Mandelslo tells us about tea and coffee in connection with the drink of the Persians in the 17th Century:—

"They Drink, with their Tobacco, a certain black water, which they call *Cahwa*, made of a Fruit brought out of *Egypt*, and which is in colour like ordinary Wheat and in tast like Turkish Wheat, and is of the bigness of a little Bean. They fry, or rather burn it in an Iron pan without any Liquor, beat it to powder, and boyling it with fair water, they make this Drink thereof, which hath as it were the tast of a burnt Crust, and is not pleasant to the Palate. It hath a Cooling quality, and the *Persians* think it allays the Natural heat."

"The *Persians* are great frequenters of the Taverns or Tipling-Houses, which they call *Tzai Chattai Chane*, in regard there they may have *The* or *Cha*, which the *Usbeques Tartars* bring thither from *Chattai*. It is an Herb which hath long and narrow leaves, about an inch in length, and half an inch in breadth. In order to the keeping and transportation of it, they dry it, so as that it turns to a dark grey Colour, inclining to black, and so shrivelled up, that it seems not to be what it really is: but as soon as it is put into warm water it spreads and reassumes its former green Colour. The *Persians* boyl it, till the water hath got a bitterish taste, and a blackish colour, and add thereto Fennel, Anniseed, or

Cloves, and Sugar. But the *Indians* only put it into seething water, and have for that purpose either Brass or Earthen pots very handsomely made, which are put to no other use. They drink it so hot, that they are not able to hold their Dishes, which are of Procelane or Silver, in their hands: whence it comes, that they have found out a way of making them of Wood or Canes, done over with a Plate of Copper or Silver Gilt, and sometimes of Gold, so as that the heat not being able to penetrate them, they may hold them in their hands, even though the water were boyling. The *Persians, Indians, Chineses* and *Japonneses* assign thereto such extraordinary qualities, that imagining it alone able to keep a man in constant health, they are sure to treat such as come to visit them, with this Drink, at all hours, The quality it is, by experience, found to have, is that it is astringent, and that it consumes superfluous Humours, which incommodate the Brain, and provoke Drowsiness. They who have Written of the affairs of the *Indies*, as *Masseus Linschooten, Trigault*, and others, tell Miracles of it, but this herb is now so well known in most parts of *Europe*, where many persons of quality use it with good success, that it must needs be known, what are both its good and bad qualities: which Dr. *Tulp*, a Physician of *Amsterdam*, hath very strictly examined, in the last Chapter of the fourth Book, of his *Medicinal Observations*."

It may be noted in passing that the passage just quoted shows that tea was largely used in India in the 17th Century. It also incidentally illustrates the mode of the preparation of tea in India—how the Indians, unlike the Persians, avoided stewing their tea and contrived to introduce refinements to provide against the

inconvenience of handling heated tea cups. May I further invite reference to the silver dish and the occasional gold casing that our Traveller speaks of, and which throw an interesting sidelight on the standard of living among the people in those days?

I proceed to place before you first of all, the orders issued by the Company formulating their new plan of administration for Surat and Bombay.

For several years, the measures devised by the Court of Directors, and those which their foreign Presidencies found practicable, have been discovered to be at variance. This opposition could only be explained by the different circumstances in which each was placed:—to remedy these evils, the Court, this season, directed its attention to the formation of a more regular system of administration at Surat and at Bombay, by fixing the rank of their servants on the principle of Seniority, as the rule of succession to Offices of trust, and next, by connecting the civil and military service in such a manner, as to place the chief authority in the former, but to render the duties of the latter subservient to the preservation of the settlements, and promotion of trade.

With the view of preventing disputes about succession, the Court framed the following regulations:—"For the advancement of our apprentices, we direct that, after they have served the first five-years, they shall have £10 per annum, for the two last-years; and having served those two yeares, to be entertayned, one year longer, as writers, and have writers sallary; and having served that yeare, to enter into y' degree of Factors, which

otherwise would have been ten yeares. And knowing, that a distinction of titles is, in many respects, necessary, we do order, that when the *Apprentices* have served their times, they be stiled *Writers*; and when the writers have served their times, they be stiled *Factors*; and Factors, having served their times, to be stiled *Merchants*; and merchants, having served their times, to be stiled *Senior Merchants*."

With the object of connecting the civil and military service, and vesting the authority in the former, it was ordered, that the civil servants were to apply themselves to acquire a knowledge of military discipline, that in the event, either of any sudden attack, or of being found better qualified for military, than for civil duties, they might receive commissions, and have the pay of military officers, till the pleasure of the court should be known.[1]

A similar system for the administration of the Company's affairs (varying only according to local circumstances) was transmitted to the Agent and Council at Fort St. George.

"After specifying the ranks of the civil servants, it was explained, that the writers and apprentices, appointed this season, were not intended to supersede any of the servants in actual employment: that promotion was, in general, to proceed by seniority; but the stations at which their civil servants were to be fixed, were left to the discretion of the Agent and Council, as they might discover them to be qualified."[2]

[1] Letters from the Court to the President and Council of Surat 12th July, 1675, and 8th March, 1675-76.

[2] *Bruce.*

I now come to Dr. Fryer's account of Factory life and Factory organisation at Surat, which he visited in 1674. I would leave the Doctor to speak for himself on these points of engrossing interest.

The English Factory.

"The house the English live in at Surat, is partly the King's gift, partly hired; built of stone and excellent timber, with good carving, without representations; very strong, for that each floor is half a yard thick at least, of the best plastered cement, which is very weighty. It is contrived after the Moor's buildings, with upper and lower galleries, or terrace-walks, a neat Oratory, a convenient open place for meals. The President has spacious lodgings, noble rooms for counsel and entertainment, pleasant tanks, yards, and an hummum to wash in, but no gardens in the city, or very few, though without the city they have many, like wildernesses, overspread with trees. The English had a neat one, but Sevaji's coming destroyed it: It is known, as the other Factories are, by their several flags flying.

Full of noise.

"Here they live (in shipping-time) in a continual hurley-burley, the Banians presenting themselves from the hour of ten till noon; and then afternoon at four till night, as if it were an Exchange in every row; below stairs, the packers and warehouse-keepers, together with merchants bringing and receiving musters, make a meer Billinsgate; for if you make not a noise, they hardly think you intent on what you are doing.

The four Chief Offices.

Among the English, the business is distributed into four offices; the Accomptant, who is next in dignity to the President, the general accompts of all India, as well as this place,

passing through his hands ; he is quasi Treasurer, signing all things, though the broker keeps the cash. Next him is the Warehouse-keeper, who registers all Europe goods vended, and receives all Eastern commodities bought ; under him is the Purser Marine, who gives account of all goods exported and imported, pays Seamen their wages, provides wagons end porters, looks after tackling for ships, and ships stores. Last of all is the Secretary, who models all consultations, writes all letters, carries them to the President and Council to be perused and signed ; keeps Company's seal, which is affixed to all passes and commissions ; records all transactions, and sends copies of them to the company ; though none of these, without the President's approbation, can act or do anything. The affairs of India are solely under his regulation ; from him issue out all orders, by him all preferment is disposed ; by which means the Council are biassed by his arbitrament.

The Company's Servants and their salaries.

"The whole mass of the Company's servants may be comprehended in these classes, viz., Merchants, Factors, and Writers ; some Bluecoat Boys also have been entertained under notion of apprentices for seven years, which being expired, if they can get security, they are capable of employments. The writers are obliged to serve five years for 10£ per Ann. giving in a bond of 500£. for good behaviour, all which time they serve under some of the forementioned Offices : After which they commence Factors, and rise to preferment and trust, according to seniority or favour, and therefore have a 1,000£. bond exacted from them, and have their salary augmented to 20£. Per Ann. for three years, then entering into new indentures, are made Senior Factors, and lastly, Merchants after three years more ; out of whom are chosen Chief of Factories, as places fall, and are allowed 40*l.* per ann.

during their stay in the Company's service, besides lodgings and victuals at the Company's charges.

The under Factories modelled by this.

"These in their several seigniories behave themselves after the fundamentals of Surat, and in their respective Factories live in the like grandeur; from whence they rise successively to be of the Council in Surat, which is the great Council; and if the President do not contradict, are sworn, and take their place accordingly, which consists of about five in number, besides the President, to be constantly resident.

The Presidency.

"As for the Presidency, though the Company interpose a deserving man, yet they keep that power to themselves, none assuming that dignity till confirmed by them: His salary from the Company is 500*l*. a year; half paid here, the other half reserved to be received at home, in case of misdemeanor to make satisfaction beside a bond of 5,000*l*, sterling of good securities.

"The Accountant has 72*l* per ann. fifty pound paid here, the other at home: All the rest are half paid here, half at home, except the writers, who have all paid here.

The advantage of being at the Council.

"Out of the Council are elected the Deputy-Governor of Bombay, and Agent of Persia; the first a place of great trust, the other of profit; though by the appointment from the Company, the second of India claims Bombay, and the Secretary of Surat the Agency of Persia, which is connived at, and made subject to the will of the President, by the interest of those whose lot they are, chusing rather to reside here, where consignments compensate those emoluments; so that none of the Council, if noted in England, but makes considerably by his place, after the

rate of five in the hundred, commission, and this is the Jacob's ladder by which they ascend.

These are not sumptuous salaries according to modern standards. Still the Presidents used to live, as will be presently seen, in considerable splendour all through their term of office in their respective Factories. The political economist would, in this connection, inevitably think of differences in the purchasing power of money then and now. And indeed, in those days in India food-stuffs were plentiful and provisions were cheap. Edward Terry, who gives us a glimpse of the household arrangements of Sir Thomas Roe during his stay in India, writes "My Lord Ambasador had an English and Indian cook to dress his diet, which was very plentiful and cheap likewise." Again Terry tells us, "I have seen a good mutton sold for the value of one shilling. Four couple of hennes at the same price, one hare at the value of a penny, three partridges for as little, and so in proportion all the rest." But one of the real explanations is to be found in the nature of the charges borne by the Company which Dr. Fryer as well as Master mentions, which charges were intended to make up for the inadequacy of the actual salaries. Years had to pass before the Company realised the impolicy of this method of eking out the incomes of their employees in India.

Some of the India Office Records now thrown open to the public enable us to judge of the charges which were borne by the Company, and which were more or less in the nature of our present-day sumptuary allowances. In these Records we have the following list of the allowances received by "the Hon'ble Adam Dawson Esqr., President Governor" in Bengal in 1751, which will serve to throw some light on the question before us:—

"Received out of the cash			Old Sicca Rupees
As salary, £200 per ann		...	1,600
Gratuity (£100)		...	800
			2,400
Batta, 12½ per cent		...	300
			2,700
"Received from the Buxey monthly—			
Diet money ...	600 Rs. i.e. Per ann	...	7,200
Charges cattle	124 ,,	...	1,488
Nuddea water	24 ,,	...	288
Wax candles	83,,10 ,,	...	1,003,,8
Charcole ...	8 ,,	...	96
Oil ...	2 ,,	...	24
Mussaul ...	1,,8... ,,	...	18
Firewood (this article deviates every month)	215 ,,	...	2,650
			12,697,,8

"Servants' Wages—

3 Chubdars ...	12 Rs., *i.e.* per ann...		144
8 Frosses (i.e., Farrashes) ...	11	" ...	132
6 Mussaulches...	12	" ...	144
1 Barber ...	3,,4,,9	" ...	39,,9
2 Head Peons...	10	" ...	120
2 Flag Bearers	5	" ...	60
Cookroom servants	40	" ...	480
8 Gualoes (i.e. cowherds)	18	" ...	216
35 Peons	87,,8	" ...	1,050
4 Servants	16	" ...	192
2 Washermen	6	" ...	72
7 Hands of Musuk (?)	164	" ...	1,968
Their diet	100	" ...	1,200
9 Cooleys	16,,0,,3	" ...	192,,3
			6009,,12

Total amounts to ... 21,,407,,4
Equivalent then to ... £2,676

I may note in passing that the figures I have just quoted will suggest points in connection with another enquiry which is engaging the serious attention of our present-day University students—*viz.* variations in prices and wages in India.

Dr. Fryer goes on:—

"It would be too mean to descend to indirect ways, which are chiefly managed by the Banians, the fittest tools for any deceitful undertaking; out of whom are made brokers for the Company, and private persons, who are allowed two *per cent.* on all bargains, besides what they squeeze secretly out of the price of things bought; which cannot be well understood for want of knowledge in their language; which ignorance is safer, than to hazard being poisoned for prying too nearly into their actions: Though the Company, to encourage young men in their service, maintain a master to learn them to write and read the language, and an annuity to be annexed when they gain a perfection therein, which few attempt, and fewer attain.

The baseness of the Banians.

"To this factory belongs twenty persons in number, reckoning Swally Marine into the account; a Minister for divine Service, a Surgeon, and when the President is here, a guard of English soldiers, consisting of a double file led by a Serjeant.

Number of persons in the Factory.

"The present Deputy has only forty Moor-men, and a flagman, carrying St. George his colours swallow-tailed in silk, fastened to a silver partisan; with a small attendance of horse with silver bridles, and furniture for the gentlemen of the house, and coaches for Ladies and Council.

"The President besides these has a noise of trumpets, and is carried himself in a Palenkeen, a horse of state led before him, a Mirchal (a fan of ostriches' feathers) to keep off the sun, as the Omrahs or great men have, none but the Emperor have a sumbrero among the Moguls: Besides these, every one according to his quality has his menial servants to wait on him in his chamber, and follow him out.

State of the President.

Let me place by the side of this what one of our earlier Travellers, the noble Pietro Della Valle, who came to Surat fifty years before Dr. Fryer, has to say on the subject:—

"As for the Dutch Commendator and the English President also, who came frequently to carry me abroad, I must not forbear to say that both of them live in sufficient splendor and after the manner of the greatest persons of the Country.[1] They go abroad with a great train, sometimes also of their own men on Horse-back, but especially with a great number of Indian servants on foot, arm'd according to the mode with Sworn, Buckler, cows and Arrows. For 'tis the custome of servants in *India*, whether Mahometans or Gentiles, to go always arm'd, not only upon a journey, but also in the City, and to serve in the house all day with the same weapons by their sides: and never to lay them off saving at night, when they go to sleep. Moreover these Governors of the two Frank or Christian Nations which reside in Surat use to have carry'd before their coach or Horse when they ride a very high Bannerol or Streamer, by a man on foot, (which likewise is the custome of all men of quality here), and likewise to have a sadled Horse lead by hand before them. And not onely they who are publick persons, but any private person whatever, of whatever Country or Religion, may in these parts live with as much grandeur and equipage as he pleases; and such is the liberty here, that everyone may do, if he will and be able, as much as the King himself. Hence generally, all live much after a genteel way; and they do it securely, as well because the King doth not persecute his subjects with false accusations,

[1] Sir W. Hedges, in his *Diary*, edited by Sir H. Yule (Vol. I, page 123) says, "A gawdy show, and great noise adds much to a Public Person's credit in this country."

nor deprive them of anything when he sees them live splendidly and with the appearance of riches, (as is often done in other Mahometan countries) as because the Indians are inclined to these vanities, and servants cost very little, in regard of the multitude of people and the small charge wherewith the common sort are maintained; for a simple Servant, who is not an officer, commonly in the best houses, between wages, victuals and clothing, stands not in more than three *Rupia* a moneth, amounting to about the value of a Venetian Zecchine. or ten shillings sterling." [1]

How acute and penetrating these observations are, and how valuable is the information herein contained for the reconstruction of the social history of the period, will, I trust, be at once apparent to all my friends.

Dr. Fryer's further references to the English Factory at Surat remind us of Sivaji's conflict with the Mogul administration, and have, in consequence, a special interest for the political historian.

All places in India subject to the Presidency, with their Commodities.

"The Presidency of Surat is esteemed superior to all in India, the Agency of Bantam being not long since subordinate to it, but since made independent; though the South Sea trade is still maintained from hence to Bantam with such cloth as is vendible there, from thence with dollars to China for sugar, tea, porcelane, laccared ware, quicksilver, tuthinag and copper; which with cowreys, little sea-shells, come from Siam and the

[1] The words "ten shillings sterling" do not, of course, occur in the original Italian. A "zecchine" or "sequin" has an average value of about 9*s*. 5*d*

Phillipine Islands: gold and elephant's teeth from Sumatra, in exchange of corn. From Persia, which is still under the Presidency, come drugs and Carmania wool; from Mocha, cohar or coffee. The Inland Factories subject to it, are Ahmadabad, whence is provided silks, as atlases wrought with gold; Agra, where they fetch indico, chuperly, course cloth, siring chints, Broach baftas, broad and narrow; dimities, and other fine calicuts; along the coasts are Bombay, Rajapore for saloos; Carnear for dungarees, and the weightiest pepper; Calicut for spice, ambergreez, granats, opium, with salt petre, and no cloth, though it give the name of calicut to all in India, it being the first port from whence they were known to be brought into Europe: All which, after the Europe ships have unladen at Surat, they go down to fetch; and bring up time enough before the Cafflas out of the country come in with their wares.

The Investment set on foot in the Rains.

"The places about Surat afford variety of Calicuts, but not such vast quantities as are yearly exported, and moreover not so cheap; which is the reason at every place the factors are sent to oversee the weavers, buying up the cotton-yarn to employ them all the rains, when they set on foot their investments, that they may be ready against the season for the ships: or else the chief broker imploys Banians in their steads, who are responsible for their fidelity.

This trade managed by a Company better than Free-Traders.

"On these wheels moves the traffick of the East, and has succeeded better than any corporation preceeding, or open trade licensed in the time of Oliver Cromwell; though how much more to the benefit of England than a free commerce, may be guessed by their already being over-flocked with Europe merchandise, which lowers the

price. What then would a glut do, which certainly must follow, but debase them more, and enhance these?

"But lest the New Company should be exclaimed against as the greedy monopolizers, they permit free traders on their Island Bombay; when to speak truth, they are in a far worse condition than their servants; being tied up without hopes of raising themselves: so that in earnest they find out that to be but a trick.

Their Freemen greater slaves than their servants.

"However, to confess on the Company's behalf, the trade (I mean on this coast) for some years lately passed has hardly ballanced expences. They employing yearly forty sail of stout ships to and from all parts where they trade, out and home; manning and maintaining their Island Bombay, Fort St. George, and St. Helens; besides large sums expended to bear out the port of their Factors; which notwithstanding by impartial computation has been found inferior to the costs of the Hollanders, and therefore more to the profit of the English East India Company, than theirs, in the few years they have adventured; so that I should mightily blame them should they prove ungrateful to His Majesty, who by his gracious favour has united them in a society, whereby they are competitors for riches (though not strength) with the notedest company in the universe.

The charges of the English Company not so great as the Hollanders.

This charter was granted presently after the happy restoration of our Gracious Sovereign, when order began to dawn, and dispel dark chaos of popular community: Then was sent out a President, to put their charter in force, and establish a graduation among their servants, which before was not observed; only for order's sake, they did nominate an Agent; the rest being independent, made

Their charter put in force.

no distinction. When as now, after a better model, they commence according to their standing, and are under a collegiate manner of restraint.

The course of the Presidents.

"The last Agent was Agent Rivinton, who was abolished by the Company's sending out President Wynch, who lived not much more than two years: President Andrews took his plaee, and he resigning, Sir George Oxendine held it till his death; in whose time Sevaji plundered Surat; but he defended himself and the merchants so bravely, that he had a khillut or Serpaw, a robe of honour from head to foot, offered him from the great Mogul, with an abatement of customs to Two and an half *per cent.* granted to the Company: For which his masters, as a token of the high sense they had of his valour, presented him a medal of gold, wlth this devise:

'*Non minor est virtus quam quærere parta tueri.*'

The English defend themselves with honour against Sevaji a second time.

"After whose decease, the Honourable Gerald Aungier took the chair, and encountered that bold mountaineer a second time, with as great applause; when the Governor of the town and province durst neither of them shew their heads.

"*Fluctum enim totius Barbariæ ferre urbs una non poterat.*

"The enemies by the help of an Europe engineer had sprung a mine to blow up the castle; but being discovered, were repulsed; for though he had set fire to the rest of the city, they retained the castle, and the English their house.

The power of the President.

"The extent of the Presidency is larger in its missions than residency; in which limits may be reckoned an hundred Company's servants continually in the country; besides the annual advennes of ships, which during their

stay are all under the same command: Therefore what irregularities are committed against only the Presidency or Company, in case of non-submission, the persons offending are to be sent home, and dismissed their employments for refractoriness; but if an higher court lay hold of them in case of murder or any capital crime, then they are to be sent to Bombay, there to have a legal trial, according to the laws of England, as the President is created Governor of His Majesty's Island.

Ill success of the first Adventures.

"The ill-managing of which penalties formerly, or the invalidity to inflict them, may be the true cause of the unprosperousness of the ancient undertakers; who had this inconveniency still attending, to wit, the incorrigible stubbornness of their own men, after they had overcome all other difficulties, occasioned by the grant of the East to the Portugal, and West-Indies to the Spaniard. Nevertheless this fairy gift was the ground of a long and tedious quarrel in each of the world's ends; so that our ships encountering with their carracks, seldom used to part without the loss of one or both. Nay, the long-lived people yet at Swalley, remember a notable skirmish betwixt the English and Portugals there, wherein they were neatly intrapped; an Ambuscado of ours falling upon them behind in such sort, that they were compelled between them and the ships in the road, to resign most of their lives; and gave by their fall a memorable name to a Point they yet call Bloody Point, for this very reason. But since these sores are fortunately bound up in that conjugal tye betwixt our sacred king and the sister of Portugal, laying all foul words and blows aside, let us see how the affairs stand betwixt them and the Dutch, who followed our steps, and got in at the breach we made. They made them more work, not only beating them out of their

South-sea trade, but possessed themselves of all their treasures of spice, and have ever since kept them, with all their strong-holds, as far as Goa; they only enjoying the gold trade of Masambique undisturbed; the Japanners having banished both their commerce and religion.

"Wherefore our ships almost alone, were it not for a little the French of late, lade Calicuts for Europe: The Dutch have a Factory here, that vend the spices they bring from Batavia, and invest part of the money in coarse cloth, to be disposed among their Planters, or sold to the Malayans, and send the rest back in rupees: So that we singly have the credit of the Port, and are of most advantage to the inhabitants, and fill the Custom-House with the substantialest incomes. But not to defraud the French of their just commendations, whose Factory is better stored with Monsieurs than with cash, they live well, borrow money, and make a show: Here are French Capuchins, who have a Convent, and live in esteem."

The Company enrich this Port.

Not to speak of the varied information regarding Indian medicinal plants and indigenous drugs to be found in Fryer's New Account of India, we have many an interesting glimpse of the life of the people in the pages of his book. Some of these I hope to discuss with you on a subsequent occasion. Today I conclude by asking you to compare what Fryer tells us about the English Factory at Surat and about Factory life in India with what we have been told regarding the same by an earlier European traveller who paid a visit to that port more than

a quarter of a century before our Doctor. I refer to Mandelslo, that interesting character who was one of the entourage of the Duke of Holstein. The enterprising Duke, I need hardly remind my friends, sent an embassy to Muscovy and Persia, with the object of carrying on the silk trade by land. We are told by John Davies, the English translator of Mandelslo's Travels, that he "a gentleman well-born, had his education at the Duke of Holstein's Court, to whom he had been a page. Hearing of an embassy intended for Muscovy and Persia, he would needs be one in it. * * During his abode at Ispahan, he got acquainted with some English merchants who speaking to him of the Indies, raised in him a desire to go there." "It was a very strange adventure which made him find civil entertainment and hospitality at Surat, made him subsist at the charge of others, conducted him by land to the great Mogul's court, brought him safely back again to Surat, preserved the ship he was in after so many tempests near the Cape of Good Hope and miraculously delivered him at his first arrival into England."

[1] When Mandelslo the attache of the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein's envoy, whose travels translated into English nearly 200 years ago are well worth perusal now,—when he, I say, visited India, he found the Court of the Great Mogul in all its magnificence and England was represented by a factory of merchants at Ahmedabad not remarkable for the purity of their lives or the cleanliness of their morals. How vast is now her empire in the East! How great her responsibilities! *My Diary in India*, (1858-59) Russell.

Students of Indian History would naturally feel interested in examining for themselves our traveller's graphic references to the various aspects of English factory life at Surat at the time of his visit. On the present occasion, I content myself by stringing together a few of the noticeable points in their briefest outline. Our traveller's first experience on reaching Surat was the ordeal of the Custom-house examination by Mogul officials. He tells us,

"We came ashore near the Sulthan's Palace, and went immediately to the Custom-house to have our things searched by the officers there: which is done with such exactness in this place, that they think it not enough to open chests and portmantles, but examine people's clothes and pockets. The Sulthan or Governour, nay the Customers themselves, oblige merchants and passengers to part with, at the price they shall think fit to put upon them, those goods and commodities which they had brought for their own private use. Accordingly the Sultan himself, who came to the Custom-house as soon as we were got thither, having found among my things a bracelet of yellow amber, and a diamond, would needs buy them both of me: where to when I made him answer, that I was no merchant, and that I valued those things only for their sakes who had bestowed them on me, he was pleased to return me the diamond, but detained the bracelet, telling me I should have it again when I honoured him with a visit.

Entertainment at the English House.

While we were in this contestation, came to the place an Indian coach, drawn by two white oxen, which the English President had sent to bring me to their house, so

that leaving the Sulthan with the bracelet, I went into it. At the entrance of the house I met the President, with his Second, that is to say, he who commands under him, and in his absence, whose name was Mr. Fremling, who received me with extraordinary kindness, and very civilly answered the compliment I made them, upon the freedom I took to make my advantage thereof. The President, who spoke Dutch very well, told me I was very welcome, in the country where we then were, all Christians were obliged to assist one another, and that he was the more particularly obliged thereto as to what concerned me, in respect of the affection I would have expressed towards some of his nation at Ispahan. He thereupon brought me to his chamber, where there was a collation ready. It consisted of fruits and preserves, according to the custom of the country. * * * In the evening, some merchants and others belonging to the President, came and brought me from my chamber to supper into a great hall, where was the Minister with about a dozen merchants, who kept me company, but the President and his Second supped not, as being accustomed to that manner of life, out of a fear of overcharging their stomachs, digestion being slowly performed, by reason of the great heats which are as troublesome there in the night time as in the day. After supper the Minister carried me into a great open gallery, where I found the President and his Second taking the coolness of the sea-air. This was the place of our ordinary rendezvous, where we met every night, to wit, the President, his Second, the principal merchant, the Minister and myself, but the other merchants came not but when they were invited by the President. At dinner he kept a great table of about fifteen or sixteen dishes of meat, besides the desert.

Order of the English Factory.

The respect and deference which the other merchants have for the President was very remarkable, as also the order which was there observed in all things, especially at Divine Service, which was said twice a day, in the morning at six, and at eight at night, and on Sundays thrice. No person in the house but had his particular function, and their certain hours assigned them as well for work as recreation. Our divertisement was thus ordered. On Fridays after Prayers, there was a particular assembly, at which met with us three other merchants, who were of kin to the President, and had left as well as he their wives in England, which day being that of their departure from England, they had appointed it for to make a commemoration thereof, and drink their wives' healths. Some made their advantage of this meeting to get more than they could well carry away, though every man was at liberty to drink what he pleas'd, and to mix the Sack as he thought fit, or to drink *Palepuntz*, which is a kind of drink consisting of *aqua vitae*, rose-water, juice of citrons and sugar.

At our ordinary meetings every day, we took only *The*, which is commonly used all over the Indies, not only among those of the country, but also among the Dutch and English, [1] who take it as a drug that cleanses the

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[1] It is interesting to note the following in reference to the prevalence of the use of *Tea* in England :—

Tea was introduced into England by the Lords Arlington and Ossory, who imported it from Holland in 1666, and their ladies brought it into fashion among people of their own rank. At that time it sold in London for sixty-seven or sixty-eight livres a pound, though it cost but three or four at Batavia. Notwithstanding the price was kept up with very little variation, the fondness for this liquor gained ground ;

stomach, and digests the superfluous humours, by a temperate heat particular thereto. The Persians instead of *The* drink their *Kahwa*, which cools and abates the natural heat which *The* preserves.

English Garden.

The English have a fair Garden without the city, whither we constantly went on Sundayes after Sermon, and sometimes also on other dayes of the week, where our exercise was shooting at Butts, at which I made a shift to get a hundred divertisements, we had a collation of fruit and preserves, and bathed ourselves in a tanke or cistern which had five foot water. Some Dutch gentlewomen served and entertained us with much civility. What troubled me most was, that my little acquaintance with the English tongue made me incapable of conversation, unless it were with the President, who spoke Dutch."

A comparison of the various accounts which I have ventured to place before you unfolds in the first place a tale of progress, and reveals some of the developments which had taken place at Surat under the stimulating influence of the trading operations of the London East India Company since the earlier travellers visited that port. But in all other essential respects, as regards the organisation of factory life, the

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It was not, however, brought into common use till towards the year 1715, when green tea began to be drunk, whereas till then no sort was known but the bohea. The fondness for this Asiatic plant has since become universal. Perhaps, the phrenzy is not without its inconveniences; but it cannot be denied, that it has contributed more to the sobriety of the nation than the severest laws, the most eloquent harangues of Christian orators, or the best treatises of morality.

Justamond.

position of the President, the gradations of official life, the relation of the President to the subordinate factors and employees, the accounts are identical. Hence we would be justified in saying that the travellers supply convincing corroborative evidence of their own trustworthiness, belonging as they do to different nationalities, and separated as they are by fairly long intervals at a turning point and during a stirring period in the history of India when events were indeed moving fast. Further, what the travellers tell us is what we are led to expect from the tenour of the regulations issued by the authorities at home.

And lastly, it will be seen that the picture presented in these accounts corresponds to the state of things on which Tavernier's specific recommendations for the benefit of future promoters of companies trading to the East Indies are obviously based.

The Diary of William Hedges and Early English Settlements in Bengal

I

Mr. President and Fellow Students:

The diary of William Hedges is one of our subsidiary sources of information regarding the period with which it deals, and it is little noticed by our text-book writers who walk on beaten tracks and follow the traditional methods of book-making. None the less, to my mind, it is a document of considerable historical interest, well worthy of the serious attention of inquisitive students, while the story of its recovery and its rescue from destruction and oblivion out of a heap in an old book-seller's shop as told by Mr. Barlow, the editor of the first volume of the Diary published by the Haqluit Society, invest it almost with a halo of romance. Hedges went to Dacca almost immediately after his arrival in Bengal. One could not journey by river in those days from the mouths of the Ganges to Dacca on the *Buriganga* without being struck with the natural beauty[1] of the surrounding landscape, the long

[1] We continued rowing all day in the most pleasant country that ever I saw in all my life. *October 23, 1682.*

stretches of picturesque green, the fertile fields fed and drained by innumerable streamlets, the level banks dotted over with shady groves of umbrageous trees inviting passers-by, as Hedges himself tells us, to dine[1] and sup under their sheltering branches; visions of swarming peacocks and glimpses of spotted deer,[2] rare sights unfortunately in our days, and every now and then a kindly "Jemadar," flourishing under the vice-regal regime of a Mir Jumla or a Shaista Khan, extending his civilities and hospitality to the European travellers as they passed through his little domain. But signs of the coming confusion are already in the land, the chaos to come, out of which God's providence working through the

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[1] Being Sunday, we dined ashore at Pulia, under a great shady tree near Santapore (Santipur). *October 15, 1682.*

[2] Early in the morning we passed by a village called Sinudghur, and by 5 o'clock this afternoon we got as far as Reure a small village belonging to *Wooderay*, a Jemadar, that owns all the country on that side of the water, almost as far as over against Hughly. It is reported by tho country people that he pays more than twenty lack of Rupeos per annum to the King, rent for what he possesses and that about two years since he presented above a lakh of Rupees to the Mogul and his favourites, to divert his intention of hunting and hawking in his country, for fear of his tenants being ruined and plundered by the Emperor's lawless and unruly followers. This is a fine pleasant situation, full of great shady trees, most of them Tamarins, well stored with peacocks and spotted deer like our fallow-deer; we saw two of them near the river side at our first landing. *October 16, 1682.*

We lay at Bogatcher, a very pleasant and delightful country: the Gemidar (*i.e.*, Zamindar) invited us ashore, and showed us store of Deer, Peacock, &c., but it was not our good fortune to get any of them. *April 11, 1683.*

genius and practical statesmanship of England was to evolve that administrative order which we see around us to-day everywhere in India. That double government which is associated with the name of Clive, and with the evils of which we are all familiar, it seems to me, is already there, though of course in a somewhat disguised form and in an undeveloped state. Hedges speaks to us during his stay at Dacca of the King's Duan[1] meaning the representative of the Mogul Emperor, and of the Nabob's Duan, (Rai Nanda Lal the Nabob's Vizir) each hampering the other when it suited his purpose, and both hampering petitioners who had suits before the Government. We gather that besides Hugli,[2] the English had settlements at Balasore, Patna, Dacca, Cossimbazar and also at Rajmahal, though one of minor importance, and at Malda though at a later date than the other settlements. The French, as also

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[1] I went to visit Haggi Sophæ Chan, the King's Duan. *October 29, 1682.*

[2] The East India Company's Factory at Hughli was established in 1640 in order to provide them with a better port for trading in the Lower Bengal than Pipli in Orissa where they had a Factory from 1624 to 1642. The East India Company's first Commercial agent at Kasimbazar was appointed in 1658.

The East India Company had a factory at Maldah as far back as 1686. Angrezabad *i.e.*, English town gradually in the 17th Century grew round the English Factory at Maldah, and is now the chief town of the district.

Patna (Pattana the city) the Palibothra of Megasthenes was the seat of one of the Company's factories in Bengal so early as 1620. *Report on the old Records of the India office—Birdwood.*

the Dutch,[1] had their settlements too. Evidently there was no lack of cordiality between the individual representatives of the rival Companies, and Hedges tells us of exchange of civilities between him and the Dutch Factor at Dacca as also at Cossimbazar[2] (April 17, 1683) though he notices quite early in his Indian official career (October 11, 1682) "that it is observable the Dutch omit no opportunity to do us all the prejudice that lies in their power." The muslin of Dacca, the silk of Cossimbazar and Malda, the saltpetre from Patna are some of the staple articles of trade. Treasure is sent up in bullion to be coined in the Indian mints and then distributed among the various settlements according to the needs of the year; this question of coinage being a bone of contention between the Mogul Court and the English.[3] The Company was paying Rs. 3,000 a year in lieu of all the demands of the Nabob's Government, in spite of which it

[1] In this city (Benares) were two factories, one of the English, and the other of the Dutch, seeing that here, besides cloth of cotton, much fine silk is woven and a huge quantity of saltpetre produced, which goes to be stored in Bengal, and is there loaded on ships for various parts of Europe. *Manucci.*

[2] I reached Quāsim Bāzār, at three days journey from Hūglī, and here I saw that they make much high-quality piece-goods and much white cloth. *Manucci.*

[3] In the afternoon, I went to the King's Duan to know upon what terms we should send our money to the Mint, who after some difficulty granted his Perwana for the payment of only 3½ per cent custom, and that to be paid only at one of the two Mints of Dacca or Rajmahal, and in no other place. *November 20, 1682.*

was subject to various vexatious exactions of his underlings.

But misrule is rampant among the servants of the Company itself.

They traded on their own account, unmindful of the interests of their employers. They were not above receiving illegal gratifications from Indian weavers and producers, merchants and traders who had to deal with them, these perquisites being often forced out of simple and innocent but powerless artisans and agents. Then, worst of all, they had dealings, sometimes secret, but sometimes also open, with interlopers like the great Pitt, the progenitor of two of the most illustrious personages in the long roll of English statesmen; at times the servants of the Company being even induced to transfer their services to the interlopers. Over such a trading world Hedges was called upon to preside, and here are some of the abuses which he was commissioned to uproot. There is no doubt that he resolutely set himself to the task before him from the day of his arrival in Bengal. But there is also no doubt that he met with sullen opposition from the very beginning and that ill-success dogged his steps all through. Perhaps his worst misfortune was his hostile collision with Job Charnock. I shall later on endeavour to illustrate what I have here stated by narrating in its briefest outline the story of this misdirected

and ineffectual but resolute and sincere attempt at reform, as it is told in the various entries of the Diary of Sir William Hedges.

To all outward seeming failure is writ large across the Indian official career of William Hedges. But to my mind his short-lived administration, which lasted over the brief space of two years and one month covering the period between July 21, 1612 and August 30, 1683, is one of the most momentous in the annals of the English in India and is fraught with the most fateful consequences, not merely for the people of India but for the future of humanity. Amid severe mental tribulation, living in an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion, his harassed mind never wavered from its purpose for a single moment. He was resolutely bent on faithfully carrying out the terms of his commission—to suppress the interlopers, to put down private trade, to raise the tone of public life, the standard of public morality among the servants of the Company in the Bay, to purge the English settlements of those undesirable characteristics which filled with disgust old Shaista Khan in his dotage, and made him exclaim that the English whom he saw in India in his day were "a company of quarrelling people and foul dealers."

Hedges was constantly brooding over the present and trying to peep into the future. He could not but realise that he had made enemies

everywhere, that his efforts at Dacca like his other efforts, had ended in nothing. But his mind was constantly thinking of future reforms, and he was throwing out suggestions to that end. He heard that the Dutch intended "to settle themselves in a fortification in some most commodious part of the mouth of the Hughli, and then they would either oblige the natives and Government of Bengal to interdict and forbid their trade with all manner of European Christians, or else were resolved to run the hazard of doing it themselves." Hedges' reflection in this connection is the following. "And then adieu to the Bay of Bengal (this best flower in the Company's garden) and all India besides if they please to command it. And if it does not please God to put it into the Company's hearts to do something to prevent this evil the next year, by settling and making a fort in one of the islands I fear they will be excluded for ever. This is also in my judgment the only remedy to prevent the Interlopers infesting us." (September 26, 1683).

Again, under date October 31, 1683, Hedges notes:—"The Company's affairs will never be better but always grow worse and worse with continual patching till they resolve to quarrel with these people, and build a fort on the island Sagor at the mouth of this river and run the hazard of losing year's trade in the Bay in one-fourth of which time there is no fear of

bringing these people to our conditions. If this be not speedily taken in hand, there is no doubt to be made but it will soon be done by the Dutch who talk of it freely as often as we meet with them, and then we must expect to be turned out of the country."

Again, under date November 10, 1684, when he was no longer the Agent of the Company, Hedges notes that he heard the President declare that "the trade of this place could never be carried on and managed to the Company's advantage till they fell out with the government" and could oblige them to grant the English better terms, which he thought very feasible. Hedges adds, "And this is no more than I advised the Hon'ble Company and all my friends in England two years' since and foresaw a necessity of taking such a course, in a few months after my arrival in these parts."

All this led to no immediate action, but gave rise to a good deal of discussion. The Company in their letter dated 21st December, 1613, state "Our late Agent and some of our Captains tell us there is no way to mend our condition but by seizing and fortifying one of those pleasant (*sic*) islands in the Ganges about the Braces," and they seriously deliberated over the *pros* and *cons* of the scheme, some of the objections to the suggestion in their judgment being

(*a*) the irritation to the Mogul, who in revenge might seize all the Company's property not only in the Bengal factories, but at Surat and elsewhere,

(*b*) the cost which will be slowly reimbursed and

(*c*) the probability that the Dutch might wind themselves into the quarrel and take sides with the Mogul.

The letter goes on to say, "Some others have propounded to us the seizing upon a town called Chittagonne in the Easternmost mouth of the Ganges upon or near the coast of Raekan, which town did formerly belong to the Raekanners and was taken from them by the Moguls' forces and is already fortified with some bastions and walls and guns after the Moor's fashion, which notwithstanding two of our ships with two or three of our sloops would surprise in a day."

The Company at the time was inclined to look upon this latter suggestion as the preferable scheme of the two, preferable that is to say, to the project of setting up a fortified post in the mouth of the Hugli, but did not consider the present to be an opportune moment for taking action.

Need I explain to my friends that in this suggestion and in these discussions, we have the germ of the future foundation of Chutanote and hence of Calcutta? The seed has been sown

and in the fulness of time, in God's providence, it was destined to germinate and grow into a vigorous, beneficent growth. Shades of Job Charnock and of William Hedges, permit an humble student of Indian history to picture you two as embracing each other in the fields of Elysium, forgetting your earthly rivalries of a short summer's day, and rejoicing over that which both of you helped to bring into existence; gladdening your hearts at the sight of the Calcutta of our day with its flourishing shipping and its steadily growing trade; Calcutta, the pulse of the British Indian Empire and so long the seat of that strong administrative machinery which controls the destinies of millions of human beings living under its sheltering shadow—Calcutta, with this University of ours, fulfilling its God-given task of spreading life and light among a whole people—Esto perpetua! May Calcutta with this University of ours grow from more to more, and ever flourish in its beneficent career, scattering plenty over a smiling land!

"In 1686 the English retreating from Hugli established themselves under Job Charnock at Chatanati. The new settlement gradually extended itself to Kalikata and Govindpur, and from 1689 became the chief seat of the East India Company in Bengal. Fort William was originally built in 1696; and the three villages of Chatanati, Kalikata and Govindpore were

finally assigned to the Company in 1700. The 24 Parganas forming the sub-urban district of the Presidency Division of Bengal were ceded to the Company by Mir Jaffer, our puppet Nabab Nazim of Bengal, 20th December, 1757."[1]

The story of the foundation of Calcutta, I must not attempt to relate to-day. I trust I may have an opportunity of doing so on some future occassion. I conclude this part of my subject by placing before you a few details, topographical and otherwise, regarding old Calcutta from the notes of Captain Hamilton, highly interesting, as you will observe, because of their contemporary character and of the source from which they are derived.

One notices with special interest the information afforded by the Captain's narration regarding the occupations of the social world of Calcutta in those early days of its history.

On the East Side of Hughly River, is Ponjelly, a Village where a Corn Mart is kept once or twice in a Week; it exports more Rice than any Place on this River, and five Leagues farther up on the other Side, is Tanna Fort, built to protect the Trade of the River, at a Place convenient enough, where it is not above Half a Mile from Shore to Shore, but it never was of much Use; for in Anno 1686, when the English Company quarrelled with the Mogul, the Company had Several great Ships at Hughly, and this Fort was manned in order to hinder their passage down the River. One 60 Gun Ship approaching

[1] Birdwood.

pretty near the Fort, Saluted it with a Broad-side, which so frightened the Governor and his Myrmidons, that they all deserted their Post, and left their Castle to be plundred by the English Seamen. About a League farther up on the other Side of the River, is Governapore where there is a little Pyramid built for a Land-mark, to confine the Company's Colony of Calcutta, or Fort William. On that Side, and about a League farther up, stands Fort William.

The English settled there about the Year 1690 after the Mogul had pardoned all the Robberies and Murders committed on his Subjects. Mr. Job Channock being then the Company's Agent in Bengal, he had Liberty to settle an Emporium in any Part on the River's Side below Hughly, and for the sake of a large shaddy Tree chose that Place, tho' he could not have chosen a more unhealthful Place on all the River; for three Miles to the North-eastward, is a Salt-water Lake that overflows in September and October, and then prodigious Numbers of Fish resort thither, but in November and December when the Floods are dissipated, those Fishes are left dry, and with their Putrefaction affect the Air with thick stinking Vapours, which the North-east Winds bring with them to Fort William, that they cause a yearly Mortality. One Year I was there were reckoned in August about 1200 English, some Military, some Servants to the Company, some private Merchants residiug in the Town, and some Seamen belonging to shipping lying at the Town; and before the Beginning of January there were four hundred and forty Burials registred in the Clerk's Book of Mortality.

Mr. Channock choosing the Ground of the Colony, where it now is, reigned more absolute than a Rajah, only he wanted much of their Humanity, for when

any poor ignorant Native transgressed his Laws, they were sure to undergo a severe Whipping for a Penalty and the Execution was generally done when he was at Dinner, so near his Dining-room that the Grones and Cries of the poor Delinquent served him for Musick.

The Country about being overspread with Paganism the Custom of Wives burning with their deceased Husbands, is alse practised here. Before the Mogul's war, Mr. Channoch went one time with his ordinary Guard of Soldiers, to see a young Widow act that tragical Catastrophe, but he was so smitten with the Widow's beauty, that he sent his Guards to take her by Force from her Executioners, and conducted her to his own Lodgings. They lived lovingly many Years, and had severalChildren, at length she died, after he had settled in Calcutta, but instead of converting her to Chirstianity, she made him a Proselyte to Paganism, and the only Part of Christianity that was remarkable in him, was burying her decently, and he built a Tomb over her, where all his Life after her Death, he kept the anniversary Day of her Death by Sacrificing a Cock on her Tomb, after the Pagan Manner, this was and is the common Report, and I have been credibly informed, both by Christians and Pagans, who lived at Calcutta under his Agency, that the Story was really true Matter of Fact.

Fort William was built an irregular Tetragon, of Brick and Mortar, called Puckah, which is a Composition of Brick-dust, Lime, Molasses, and cut Hemp, and when it comes to be dry, is as hard and tougher than firm Stone or Brick, and the town was built without Order, as the builders thought most convenient for their own Affairs, every one taking in what Ground best pleased them for Gardening, so that in most Houses you must pass through a Garden into the House, the English

building near the River's side, and the Natives within Land.

The Agency continued till the year 1705 that the old and new Companies united.

About fifty Yards from Fort William, stands the Church built by the pious Charity of Merchants residing there, and the Christian Benevolence of Sea-faring Men, whose Affairs call them to trade there ; but Ministers of the Gospel being subject to Mortality, very often young Merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a Salary of 50 £ per Annum added to what the Company allows them, for their Pains in reading Prayers and Sermons on Sundays.

The Governor's House, in the Fort, is the best and regular Piece of Architecture that I ever saw in India. And there are many convenient Lodgings for Factors and Writers, within the Fort, and some Store-houses for the Company's Goods, and the Magazines for their Ammunition.

The Company has a pretty good Hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the Penance of Physick, but few come out to give Account of its Operation. The Company has also a pretty Good Garden, that furnishes the Governor's Table with Herbage and fruits, and some Fish-ponds to serve his Kitchin with Good Carp, Calkops and Mullet.

Most of the Inhabitants of Calcutta that make any tolerable Figure, have the same Advantages ; and all sorts of Provitions, both wild and tame, being plentiful, good cheap, as well as Clothing, make the Country very agreeable, notwithstanding the above mentioned Inconvenience that attend it.

On the other Side of the River are Docks made for repairing and fitting their Ships Bottoms, and a pretty good

Garden belonging to the Armenians, that had been a better Place to have built their Fort and Town in, for many Reasons. One is, that where it now stands, the After-noon's Sun is full in the Fronts of the Houses, and shines hot on the Streets, that are both above and below the Fort, the Sun would have sent its hot Rays on the Back of the Houses, and the Fronts had been a good Shade for the Streets.

Most Gentlemen and Ladies in Bengal live both splendidly and pleasantly, the Forenoons being dedicated to Business, and after Dinner to Rest, and in the Evening to recreate themselves in Chaises or Palankins in the Fields, or to Gardens, or by Water in their Budgerows, which is a convenient Boat, that goes swiftly with the Force of Oars, and, on the River, sometimes there is the Diversion of Fishing or Fowling, or both; and, before Night, they make friendly Visits to one another, when Pride or Contention do not spoil Society, which too often they do among the Ladies, as Discord and Faction do among the Men. And altho' the conscript Fathers of the Colony disagree in many Points among themselves, yet they all agree in oppressing Strangers, who are consigned to them, not suffering them to buy or sell their Goods at the most advantageous Markets, but of the Governor and his Council, who fix their own Prices, high or low, as seemeth best to their Wisdom and Discretion: And it is a Crime hardly pardonable for a private Merchant to go to Hughly, to inform himself of the current prices of Goods, altho' the Liberty of buying and selling is intirely taken from him before.

The Garison of Fort William generally consists of 2 or 300 Soldiers, more for to convey their Fleet from Patana, with the Company's Saltpetre, and Piece Goods, raw Silk and some Ophium belonging to other Merchants, than for

the Defence of the Fort, for, the Company holds their Colony in Tail of the Mogul, they need not be afraid of any Enemies coming to dispossess them. And if they should, at any Time, quarrel again with the Mogul, his prohibiting his Subjects to trade with the Company, would soon end the Quarrel.

There are some impertinent troublesome Rajahs, whose Territories ly on the Banks of the Ganges, between Patana and Cassembuzar, who pretend a Tax on all Goods and Merchandize, that pass by, or through their Dominions on the River, and often raise Forces to compel Payment, but some Forces from Fort William in Boats, generally clear the Passage, tho' I have known some of our Men killed in the Skirmishes.

In Calcutta all Religions are freely tolerated, but the Presbyterian, and that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their Idols in Procession thro' the Town. The Roman Catholick have their Church to lodge their Idols in, and the Mahometan is not discountenanced; but there are no Polemicks, except what are between our High-church Men and our low, or between the Governor's party and other private Merchants on Points of Trade.

The Colony has very little Manufactory of its own, for the Government being pretty arbitrary, discourages Ingenuity and Industry in the Populace; for, by the Weight of the Company's authority, if a Native chances to disoblige one of the Upper-house, he is liable to arbitrary Punishment, either by Fine, Imprisonment or corporal Sufferings.

Early English Settlements in Bengal

II

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-STUDENTS:

The story of the beginning of English trade in Bengal is involved in no little obscurity. I cannot hope to throw light on the subject, or effectually remove any part of this obscurity, towards the fag end of my present course of lectures. I shall, therefore, content myself by inviting attention to some of the outstanding features of the popularly accepted account. That account is to be found in the pages of Stewart's History of Bengal. With its romantic episode of a self-sacrificing patriotic surgeon, it exercises almost a fascination over popular imagination. It is a story which will bear repetition and is given below.

"In the year of the Higira 1046" (*i.e.*, A.D. 1636-7), "a daughter of the Emperor SHAH JEHAN, having been dreadfully burnt, by her clothes catching fire, an express was sent to SURAT, through the recommendation of the vizier ASSAD KHAN, to desire the assistance of a European surgeon. For this service the Council at SURAT nominated MR. GABRIEL BOUGHTON,

surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*, who immediately proceeded to the Emperor's Camp, then in the DEKKAN, and had the good fortune to cure the young Princess of the effects of her accident. MR. BOUGHTON, in consequence, became a great favourite at Court, and having been desired to name his reward, he, with that liberality which characterizes BRITONS, sought not for any private emolument; but solicited that his nation might have liberty to trade, free of all duties, to BENGAL, and to establish factories in that country. His request was complied with, and he was furnished with the means of travelling across the country to Bengal. Upon his arrival in that province he proceeded to PIPLEY, and in the year 1048" (*i.e.*, A.D. 1638-9) "an ENGLISH ship happening to arrive in that port, he, in virtue of the Emperor's firman, and the privileges granted to him, negotiated the whole of the concerns of that vessel without the payment of any duties.

In the following year, the Prince SHUJAA, having taken possession of the Government, MR. BOUGHTON proceeded to RAJEMAHEL, to pay his respects to his Royal Highness; he was most graciously received, and one of the ladies of the haram being then indisposed with a complaint in her side, the English surgeon was again employed, and had the good fortune to accelerate her recovery. Owing to this event, MR. BOUGHTON was held in high estimation at the

Court of RAJEMAHEL, and by his influence with the Prince, was enabled to carry into effect the order of the Emperor, which might otherwise have been cavilled at, or by some underhand method, rendered nugatory.

In the year 1050 (*i.e.*, A.D. 1640-41) the same ship returned from ENGLAND, and brought out a MR. BRIDGMAN, and some other persons, for the purpose of establishing factories in BENGAL. MR. BOUGHTON, having represented the circumstances to the Prince, was ordered to send for MR. BRIDGMAN; that gentleman, in consequence, went to RAJEMAHEL, was introduced to the Prince, and obtained an order to establish, in addition to that at PIPLEY, factories at BALLASORE and HOOGLEY. Some time after this event MR. BOUGHTON died, but the Prince still continued his liberality to the English."

Let me say at once that BOUGHTON is a real historical character and not a mythical personage. We have references to him in authentic India Office Records which are now open to the public and available for examination. But as far as has been ascertained, the first reference to GABRIEL BOUGHTON is to be found in the following document which is dated 3rd January, 1644. (45).

From President and Council at Surat to Company, dated Swalley Marine, the 3rd January 1644 (45.)

"ASSALAUT CKAUNE, a very great *Vmbra*, gratious with the King and our very good friend haveing long importuned us to supply him with a Chirurgeon, wee Consideringe how advantageous itt may be vnto you, and haueing a fitt opportunity, one GABRIEL BOUGHTON, late Chirurgeon of the *Hopewell* being therevnto very well qualifyed, and being willinge to stay, wee haue thought fitting to designe him to that service, wherewith ASSAL: CKAUNE is Soe well pleased that lately when MR. TURNER was to leave AGRA he accompanied MR. TASH and TURNER to the King who honor'd them more than ordinary in a long conference he held with them, dismissing them with Vests, and sending vnto the PRESIDENT a *ffirman* and dagger, which not being yett received wee know not what the former may import or the Latters valew, but shall hereafter advise, and if the dagger be of any considerable worth it shall be sent you with the jewell before advised the Prince lately sentt vnto the PRESIDENT, both expected by MR. TURNER."

Thus the question arises—did BOUGHTON leave SURAT in 1645 or in 1636? Again, there is no inherent improbability in the story of the fire accident. Dow, who generally relies on Mahomedan sources of information, though he is not always very accurate in his renderings, has the following :—

"The Emperor's alarm for DARA was scarce subsided, when a dreadful accident happened to his eldest daughter, whom he loved above all his children. Returning one night from visiting her father to her own apartments in the haram, she unfortunately brushed with her clothes one of the lamps which stood in the passage. Her clothes caught fire, and as her modesty, being within hearing of men, would not permit her to call for assistance, she was scorched in a terrible manner. She rushed into the haram in flames, and there was no hope of her life. The Emperor was much affected . . . . he for once became devout, to bribe heaven for the recovery of his favourite child. He however did not in the meantime neglect the common means. ANIT-ALA, the most famous physician of the age, was brought express from LAHORE, and the SULTANA, though by slow degrees, was restored to health."

But did BOUGHTON go to AGRA, or did he go to the DECCAN straight from SURAT? If to AGRA, a considerable time must have intervened before he could reach the DECCAN and minister to the needs of the Royal Princess on whom he was called upon to attend. Popular imagination with an unerring instinct has recognised this difficulty, and hence represents BOUGHTON as starting on his medical mission from SURAT to the DECCAN. No doubt the general acceptance

of the popular version has been favoured by the circumstance that as a matter of fact BOUGHTON was held in high esteem in the Mogul Court. Further, it is instructive to note in this connection that there is a very similar confusion and mixing up of dates in the case of JOB CHARNOCK and another patriotic physician, HAMILTON,[1] in the account which is given by ORME both in his Historical Fragments and in his Military Transactions. Before passing from this part of the subject, I should like to invite your attention to what BOWREY tells us in his account of the countries round the Bay of Bengal. We there read—

"In the beforementioned places in these 3 Kingdoms, the English Nation in generall hath freedome of inhabitinge and tradinge free from all manner of taxes and customes in or out, the like priviledges hath noe Other Nation besides.

All which was procured by the Ingenuitie of MR. GABRIEL BOWDEN, one of our owne Nation, and a very Eminent Doctor of Phisick, sometime Doctor in Ordinary to the great Warriour EMIR JEMLA, who tooke a very great Affection towards him, and was most courteous and Free to him, and Especially Upon a Notable

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[1] There are two side-gates in the east to the great Park of English Diplomacy. The one is commerce. The other is Medicine. We owe, indeed, our Indian Empire to them.

Kaye's Life of Sir John Malcolm.

Cure of his owne Lady performed (Under God) by the Doctor, the Nabob callinge for him, Ordered him att that instant to demand what he wold have given him or had most likeinge to and it shold be granted in Consideration of his Loyal Service and care of the best of his familie. The Doctor, highly Surprised with this great Person's Generositie, yet soone considered Upon it, yet soe as not to be greedy of any present gaine (onely for himselfe), and now in the best of time, requested that the English Nation might Settle Factories in what parts of the Kingdomes they pleased and be free of all duties and Customes, which then was 4 per Cent in and the like out for all goods dealt in. The which was noe Sooner demanded but as readily granted, with Phyrmanes in the Persian Languadge that the English nation Shold hold that priviledge soe longe as they pleased to live and settle in their dominions, and many other rewards liberally bestowed upon the doctor (one beinge rare amonge the Mahometants)."

It is to be noticed that BOUGHTON appears as Bowden in Bowrey. But as COL. YULE observes "it seems impossible that MIR JUMLA who did not come to BENGAL till 1659 should have been the Mahomadan patron from whom BOUGHTON (who died some years earlier) obtained trading privileges for his countrymen." This, however, does not throw any doubt on the reality of

BOUGHTON'S *firman*, though it shows that the *firman* could not have been granted by MIR JUMLA. On the contrary, we have the following in the *Court Book* of 1674 under date 4th September of that year. "We have discoursed with MR. BRIDGES and others concerning the phirmaund or patent for trade granted the English by the prince of Bengala; and we find that it was first procured by one MR. BOWDEN a chyrurgeon, and gave the Engish onely libertie to trade paying Custom according to the Kings phirmaund but was altered and made to pay noe Custom according to the Kings phirmaund. That afterwards there was another phirmaund thought to be more advantageous to the trade of the English procured by Mr. GAUTON and BILLIDGE..."

Some of our friends, who are critically inclined and hence hesitate to accept the BOUGHTON tradition as authentic, tell us that concession of trading privileges was secured on behalf of the Company by SIR THOMAS ROE during his embassy in his capacity of Ambassador of James I. We have, however, the testimony of SIR THOMAS himself against this statement. Indeed, from a careful examination of some of the entries in the journal of SIR THOMAS, it would appear that he did not set much store by the Bengal trade. He writes for example, in his journal under date 24th November, 1616: "Port Pequenna in

Bengala you are misinformed in. Ther is no mart nor resort of Merchauntes. It is traded by the PORTUGALLES from PEGU with rubyes, topasses and saphiers; and returnes cloth, which is fyne, but you may bee furnished nearer hand." A few days before this, under date November, 12, 1616, ROE had written to the Surat factors—

"It is true Bengala makes fine Cloth, but the Company Need not send a factory to buy that Commoditye; they may many wayes be supplyed at easier rates then to send a ship to yt, or pass it soe farr by land, at their owne portes of MASOLAPATAN and GUZERATT. For sugar, it is base, not woorth frait, and the wax in no plenty. The best comoditye is a raw silke and pretty stuffes made thereof, which are sould to AGRA, but in small numbers."

Under date July 23, 1616, we have the following entry in the Journal of SIR THOMAS ROE: "I wrote to MAHABAT CHAN complements and thanks, and sent away letters to MESLOPATAN concerning a factory at Bengala. At night I solicited ASAPH KHAN of my Articles. His answer was short; which I understood not." ROE says in his original letter which is preserved in the India Office Records, that he was requested to procure a firman or command for Bengala, it being supposed that some shipping would be that year directed there, but that

finding firmans of little use, he was waiting for the conclusion of the proposed treaty. ROE was for opening up trade with Bengal overland, and this difference of opinion led to an interesting correspondence between the Ambassador and the Surat factors. The factors represented that "Bengal generally is a hot country, the most of the inhabitants very poor gentiles, and upon the sea coast where there is any hope of benefit, the Dutch and Portuguese have trade, whereby we conceive that the transportation by land thither will be more hazardous and chargable than the benefit by the sale of small quantity can answer." ROE's answer to this which I give below, is, to my mind, characteristic of the man, of his powers of acute observation and of his native humour;—

"That Bengala should bee poore I see no reason; it feedes this Countrie with wheate and rise; it sendes sugar to all India; it hath the finest Cloth and Pintadoes, Musck, Ciuitt and Amber, (besides) almost all raretyes from thence by trade from PEGU. . . . . The Number of Portugalls residing is a good argument for vs to seeke it; it is a signe ther is good doing. An Abby was euer a token of a rich soyle, and store of Crowes of plenty of Carrion. . . . . It is to bee vnderstood wee must fire them out and maynteyne our trade at the Pikes end."

While we note this rather interesting controversy between the Ambassador and the Surat factors, we have also to note that within less than twenty years of this animated discussion, the question of the opening up of the Bengal trade, the question of inland communication as against the sea-route between SURAT and BENGAL, was practically settled for the English by force of circumstances, and the action in 1632 (33) of the Company's agents recently established on the Coromandel Coast.

In 1632, relates WILLIAM BRUTON, a mission was sent to the Nabob of Cuttack. The mission consisted of six Englishmen and set out from MASULIPATAN on the 22nd March of that year. I append [1] the summarised version of BRUTON'S narrative to be found in the pages of HUGH MURRAY'S Historical Accounts of Discoveries and Travels in ASIA—from which we gather that the Company's Agent at MASULIPATAN on the country of Cormandell (MASTER JOHN NORRIS) "was resolved to send two Merchants into BENGALLA for the settling of a factory, and six EUROPEANS besides, who were then at MASULIPATAM, were to accompany the merchants, and carry a present from the Agent to the Nabob or king of that country. They set sail on the 6th April, and on the 21st anchored before a town called HARSSAPORE."

[1] *vide* Addendum.

"When the party landed there a Portuguese master of a frigate "with the assistance of some of the ribble-rabble Rascall of the Towne did set vpon Mr. CARTWRIGHT and Mr. COLLEY where our men, being oprest by multitudes had like to have beene all slain or spoyld, but that (Lucklip) the *Rogger* (or Vice King there) rescued them with 200 men."

"They had interview with the Nabob at MALCANDY, his residence near COTEKE (Cuttuck), and he gave them leave to trade, freely and without paying custom, "off or on the shore in the country of WUDIA (i.e., Odia or Orissa). This took place 3rd May 1633."

"In consequence of this permission (though the narrative makes no mention of permission granted to build), the party established a factory at HARHARRAPORE, and whilst some of them remained there to build, MR. CARTWRIGHT travelled towards BALLAZARY (Balasore), and reached it via PIPELY."

The first reference to an express recognition of the privileges of the English to trade in Bengal is perhaps to be found in a document the actual date of which, COLONEL YULE points out, was the 7th September, 1624. It is a contract of peace made between MR. RASTELL who represented the East India Company, and the Mogul Governor and local dignitaries of Surat, though it may well be doubted if these who signed the contract on behalf of the Mogul administration had the requisite legal power to grant trading privileges in Bengal. We have two versions of this agreement. Fortunately there is no substantial difference between the two, and I give

below the more important of the terms of the Contract:—

"*A Contract of Peace made with Mr. Rastell, Captain of the English Nation, which we for the future do oblige ourselves exactly to observe.*

"1. It is agreed that the ENGLISH shall freely trade at their pleasure in the Ports of Surat, Cambaya, Baroch, Goga, Bengala, Seynda and in other of the Cities of the Kings Dominions, and that they shall have liberty to import and Export all sorts of goods excepting Currall for 1 year, promising not to question them either touching the quantity or time, be it Silver or Gold or any other Goods whatsoever they shall export from HINDUSTAN for their own country, Excepting as (to) the said Currall for one year, which being Expired the import of that also shall not be prohibited

2. That it shall not be lawfull for either the Governour, the officers or *Droga* of the Custom house, upon the pretence of the King or Princes Occasion to require the same of any goods unto them intended for their own proffitt, onely what shall be indeed necessary for the Kings use may be taken.

3. That the house belonging to COJA HOSSAN ALLEE wherein they formerly lived paying rent shall be continued unto them.

4. That what ever Carts shall be needful to the ENGLISH for bringing of their goods from the maryne of the towne SWALLY and for transport of Goods from the River TAPPEE and other places, as also water and Provisions for their Ships Expences they shall be furnished of them without molestation or prohibition by the Governours of WOORPAR either present or to come.

5. That if any other Christian shall offend any man belonging to the Kings port the ENGLISH are not to be questioned for it, but if any ENGLISH man doe Commit any offence they are answerable for it.

8. That their *Coffelas* shall pas freely through the country without molestation," etc.

* * * * *

10. That the ENGLISH shall have the free exercise of their own religion. (In case of quarrells between ENGLISHMEN, the ENGLISH Captain to decide; if between ENGLISHMAN and Mussulman the Captain and the Governor together shall decide, etc.)

11. (In case of an Englishman's death his goods shall be taken in charge by English people; if there is no Englishman to take charge, the Governor and "Cozzee" shall take an exact account, etc.)

12. (The English ships to administer aid to the King's ships, and never to pretend to any right or claim to any ship pertaining to the King, etc.)

13. (When the captain or other Englishman desires to go on board their ships, as an acknowledgment to the Governour they shall ask his license, etc.)

14. (About satisfaction to be done to the English on their just demands, etc.)

"Given the 25th Day of the Moone Shahur Noor Allee in the 25 year of the Reigne of SHAW JEHAN GEERE.

"ISSOFF CKAWN Governor,

"KHOZZY MAHMUD KHOSSUM,"

and about 18 others.

The next stage in our story brings us face to face with that interesting personality—Streynsham Master—whom I had occasion to refer to elsewhere in another connection. The instructions issued to him in December 1675 by the Company at home stated, "if at your arrival at the Fort St. George, you shall find Sir William Langhorne there living, as we hope, then we think it convenient that you voyage on our ships to Matchlipatam and the Bay to take an inspection into all our affairs and to regulate and set in order what you shall find amiss." This led to his tour of inspection through Bengal and has given us a Diary which is one of our most valuable sources of information regarding contemporary events and the early English Settlements in Bengal—a tour in course of which our Diarist went about putting down punch-houses in one town and putting a stop to the use of Roundells or unbrellas by subordinate officers attached to English factories elsewhere, putting up pucca brick-built godowns in a third place in the place of straw-thatched sheds as a protection against fire, and pointing out the general unhealthiness of life in Lower Bengal owing to a circumstance which unfortunately still continues to be a fact, *viz.*, that "the houses in Bengala are all made of mud, dug out of the ground, by which almost every house hath a holeful of water standing by it which

may be one reason why the country is unwholesome."

I crave your indulgence to place before you just a few short specimen extracts by way of illustrating the illminating nature of the entries to be found in Master's Diary—

"*31st August.* There being a Complaint of the Punch-houses in this Towne, which are very pernicious, soe well in respect to the Peace, and quiet of the Place, as the health of our Seaman, it is therefore ordered that noe Punch-houses bee admitted within the precinct of the ENGLISH *compound.*"......

"*5th September* .....This night we sailed over the Sands called the Brases, having never lesse than three ffathome water, and a swelling Sea."

"*7th September.* This morning wee came faire by the ARRACAN Shoare, and by the Dutch Boyes, and came to an anchor at the mouth of the River near the ile of COXES, and bought as much fish out of a boate for half a Rupee as would serve fourscoure men.

"*8th.* This day we passed by the river which goes to CHITTYGOM and DACCA, which the ENGLISH call the river of *Rogues,* by reason the ARRACANERS used to come out thence to Rob, and sailed up the river GANGES, on the east side of which most part of the great quantity of beeswax is made, which is the Kings commodity, and none suffered to deale therein but for his accompt. And swarmes of Bees flew over our Vessell, alsoe we passed by great number of salt pitts, and places to boile salt, which is alsoe appropriated to the King or Great MOGULL, and none suffered to be made but for his accompt.

"This evening with the tide of flood we gott into that part of the river GANGES that come from HUGLY. At the mouth of the said river there's 18 or 19 fathoms water without, and but 8 or 9 within, but it sholds gradually shelvingwise, yett causes a great whirling of the water, soe that often times Ships and vessells are turned or winded round by it for a good space of time, but seldom receive dammage thereby (as afterwards I saw one further up the river so winded) but wee comeing neare upon a high water gott in without any such winding, and they happen at the first of the flood and last of the ebb."

10th. This morning wee endeavoured to weigh our anchor again, but all the force and art could be used by 30 men at a winlas and Capston could not move itt and being out of hope to gett it up wee cutt our cable and left it. The cable being now made of MALDIVE COIR never started a strain......

13th. Wednesday morning about 7 o'clock, we gott to BURNAGUR, where the DUTCH have a place called the Hogg ffactory, and I was informed they Kill about3,000 hoggs in a yeare, and salt them for their shipping......

"...........Lesse then 2 miles short of HUGLY we passed by the DUTCH Garden, and a little further by a large spot of ground which the FFRENCH had laid out in a ffactory the gate to which was standing, but was now in the possession of the DUTCH. Then wee came by the DUTCH ffactory, which is a large well-built house standing by itselfe, much like to a Country Seat in ENGLAND...... That part of the Towne which wee passed by was all built of thatcht Hovells. About 7 o'clock in the evening we came to the Honble: Companys ffactory................"

"*1st November.* The Councell having taken into Consideration and debate which of the two places, HUGHLY or

BALLASORE, might be most proper and convenient for the residence of the Cheife and Councell in the BAY, Did resolve and conclude that HUGHLY was the most fitting place notwithstanding the EUROPE Ships doe Unloade and take in their ladeing in BALLASORE roade, HUGLY being the Key or Scale of BENGALLA, where all goods pass in and out to and from all parts, and being near the center of the Companys business is more commodious for receiving of advices from and issueing of orders to, all subordinate ffactoryes.

Wherefore it is thought convenient that the Cheife and Councell of the BAY doe reside at HUGLY, and upon the dispatch of the EUROPE ships the Cheife and the Councell or some of them (as shall be thought Convenient) doe yearly goe downe to BALLASORE soe well to expedite the dispatch of the ships as to make inspection into the affaires of BALLASORE ffactory. And the Council did likewise Conclude that it was requisite a like inspection should be yearly made into the affairs in the ffactory at CASSAMBAZAR, the Honble Companys principal concernes of sales and investments in the BAY lyeing in those two places, and the expence of such visitation will be very small, by reason of Conveniency of travelling in these Countreys by land or water."

November 8th, Master left Kasimbazar for Hughli. He notes :—

"Whilst I was at CASSAMBAZAR which was about six weeks time, the water did fall in the river about 5 fathome right up and done (*sic*). All the Country, or great part thereof, about CASSAMBAZAR is planted or sett with Mullburry trees, the leaves of which are gathered young to feed the Worms with, and made the silk fine, and therefore the trees are planted every yeare. The soile of BENGALA is very fertile, being a kind of a loose fat earth and some

places a fatt sand. There is not one mountaine or Hill to be seen about HUGLY or CASSAMBAZAR, the Countrey being all plaine and levell, and tho' anything will grow by reason of the fertileness of the soile, yett firewood is scarce, and timber bad and very deare. The Towne of CASSAMBAZAR is about two miles long, and in some places the streets where the markets are kept are soe narrow that a Pallanqueen can but just pass in them."

We now come to 1681 and 1682.

Speaking of the events of these years in the annals of the East India Company, Bruce relates—

"The trade to Bengal, both in its origin and progress, had hitherto been subservient to that of the Coromandel Coast, and under the control of the Agent and Council of Fort St. George. This control, however, had been irregularly exercised, probably from the circumstance of the Agent at Hooghly, and not unfrequently at the lesser Factories, having an eventual title to succession, sometimes to the Government, and often to a seat in the Council of Fort St. George. It frequently occurred also that this control was evaded by the expectation of succeeding to the Government of the Fort, at which an opportunity would be given to justify proceedings improper in themselves, and sometimes the foundation of blame by the Court. These removals of Agents and Factors managing the Company's interests on the coast or in Bengal, had produced irregularities, the last and most striking instance of which was the dismission of Mr. Master at Fort St. George, and the confirmation of Mr. Job Charnock as Chief of Cossimbazar. It was therefore determined, on taking into consideration the evils resulting from the dependency of the Bengal Factories on the Fort, to

constitute the Agency at Hooghly a distinct and separate Factory from Fort St. George. But, in an affair of such importance, that they might act with certain knowledge, the Court appointed Mr. Hedges, a member of their Committees (or what in modern times would be termed a Director of the East India Company), with special powers, to be Agent and Governor of their affairs in the Bay of Bengal, and of the Factories subordinate to it, or Cossimbazar, Patna, Balasore, Malda, and Dacca, and directed that the Stock of £ 230,000/-, appropriated for Bengal, should be distributed as follows; *viz.* £ 140,000/- to be sent to Cossimbazar, £ 14,500/- to Patna, £ 32,000/- to Ballasore, £ 15,000/- to Malda, £ 16,500/- to Dacca, and £ 12,000/- to remain at Hooghly. After specifying the Silks, Cloths, and other articles expected from each of these Factories to form the investment of the season, the Court repeated their orders against the Interlopers, and directed that a corporal of approved fidelity and courage, with twenty soldiers should proceed from the Fort to be a guard to the Agent's person and the Factory of Hooghly, and to act against the Interlopers. Such was the foundation of the Company's government in Bengal, or what became, in the sequel, the centre of commerce, and the seat of government in British India."

The foregoing statement enables us to understand the course of events which led to the formation of a distinct and independent Agency in the Bay, and the circumstances under which Hedges was sent out as the Company's Agent and Governor and placed in charge of all their affairs and factories in Bengal.

Before coming to the story narrated in Hedges' Diary, I should like to invite your atten-

tion to some of Bolts' observations in his *Considerations on India affairs,* in special reference to the trading operations of the E.I.C., in Bengal in the 17th Century, in as much as these observations, besides throwing a flood of light on the state of things with which Hedges had to deal, curiously confirm some of the conclusions I have so far ventured to draw from a number of our old 17th Centnry authorities and documents. Says Bolts, who, it will be observed, carries us a little beyond the period with which we are at present immediately concerned,—

In the early periods of the East India trade it appears, from various accounts in Purchas's Collection, that the English, as well as all other European adventurers, used to trade freely inland, under the protection of the Mogul Government; transporting their goods in the carriages of the country, called Hackeries, to the most interior parts of Hindostân, where they carried on a considerable trade in many articles, particularly indigo, which used to answer very well before the cultivation of that plant in America. But upon the confusion introduced after the subversion and dismembering of the empire, the security of merchants became extremely precarious; who were made subject, as we find, to very great impositions in the different provinces, or Nabôbships, through which they passed. This indeed was so much the fact, that both Companies, while they continued separate, often experienced great inconveniences from their agents going into the interior parts of the country to do their business; where they were frequently made to pay considerable sums to the Mogul Governors, or Nabôbs, for their releasements; for

accommodations of disputes, or for reparation of injuries, sometimes real, but perhaps much oftener pretended. Therefore, after the uniting of the two Companies, when their affairs became reduced to a more regular system, it was made a general rule, not to permit any who were in their service, or under their jurisdiction, to go far into the inland country, without leave first obtained from the Governor and Council of the place at which they resided. There had been, however at all times, many persons who resided and traded in different parts of the inland country, who were subject to their respective laws : but being acquainted with the Indian languages and customs, they either took care to keep themselves out of scrapes with the natives, or having got into them, extricated themselves therefrom in the best manner they could, from knowing they had no kind of claim to the interference of those who acted for the Company. Such restrictions on the travelling as have been mentioned were certainly necessary and prudent, with regard to the servants of, and dependants on the Company, while the country continued in so unsettled a state; but there can be no longer need of them now, at least in those countries which are under the immediate power of the English Sovereign-company.

The whole trade of the English East-India Company in Bengal consists in the sales of broad-cloth, perpets, copper, iron, lead, and a few other commodities from Europe; and in the purchase of piece-goods, silk, drugs, saltpetre, and other articles for the cargoes of their returning ships. The Dutch, besides their European imports and exports, carry on a considerable trade, on their Company's account, from port to port in India, particularly in Japan copper, tin, camphire, benjamine, tuthenaigne, sugar, spices, china-ware, arrack, etc. but the only trade of this kind carried on for account of the English company,

is a little ophium sometimes, from Bengal to Bencoolen, about 600 bales of cotton on a ship now and then from Bombay or Surat as tonnage offers, and a little pepper from Bencoolen to China: all of which is very inconsiderable.

All the goods imported by the English Company into Bengal are sold at stated periods by public auction, or as it is termed in India, *at outcry*: and upon the sales, a discount of nine, six, or three per cent. is allowed, according as the purchaser clears out his goods within the limited time. To these outcrys all persons, without distinction, are invited by the allowance of a dustuck for such goods as they there purchase, which is given by the Governor upon their clearing them out.

The provision of the investment, for the cargoes of the ships returning to Europe, is made from ready money advances in the inland countries, partly under the direction of the Chiefs and Residents at the Company's subordinate factories of Chittigong, Luckypore, Dacca, Cossimbazar, Maldah, Patna, Burdwan, and Midnapore, who send black gomastahs into the interior parts for that purpose, and partly by black gomastahs at the other Aurungs, or manufacturing towns, under the direction of a member of the Board of Council at Calcutta, who fills the post of export-warehouse-keeper.

The sole lawful difference between the trade of the English Company, and the trade of English free merchants and free mariners, as it was ever understood and practised in India during the independency of the Mogul government, was, that the Company's goods, by virtue of the Mogul's firman, confirmed afterwards by the usurping Nabôbs in their treaties with the Company, passed with their dustuck, duty-free, while those of the free merchants and other traders were exposed to the payment of the duties established by the country government.

The Portugueze have, for a considerable time past, scarce carried on any regular trade at their settlement of Bandell. The Dutch, French, and Danes, the latter of whom at their settlement of Serampore obtained their súnnud from the Nabob Allaverdy Khawn about twenty years ago, likewise sought to possess their privileges of trading in all articles without exception; paying no duties on such goods as they import, but only two and one half per cent. at Hooghly upon what they export by sea, and conforming in all other articles of trade to the established customs of the empire. They likewise possess a small district of land round each of their settlements, and have been always used to give their respective dustucks also with their goods.

In this connection, I should further like to place before you the following from Clavell's account of the trade of Hooghly and Balasore which is appended to Master's Diary of his tour of inspection through Bengal in 1676:—

About Hugly there live many weavers who weave cotton cloth, and cotton and Tesser or Herba of several sorts, and from the parts thereabouts there is brought silk, sugar, Opium, rice, Wheat, Oyle, Butter, course hempe, gunneys, and many other commodityes. The way of procuring these is to agree upon musters with the merchants of Hugly, or to send Bannians who can give Security, to buy them on our accounts in the Places where they are made or procurable at cheapest hands, and whether wee use one way or other we give passes in the English name, for the bringing those goods free of custome, and all those places have soe great a convenience that most of the goods are brought by water, unless from the places near into Hugly.

The Goods we sell in Hugly by merchants there are upon time, or ready-money, but which way soever it is that wee sell them, wee give passes and send them out in our names to avoide the merchants paying custome which otherwise they would not doe, and wee are forced to abate in the price proportionate.

Our shipps if wee had more pilotts whom wee could oblige to stay, after they had obtained some experience, either by ingageing them in familyes, or by giveing them good wages, might with much more care goe over the Braces, and come up Hugly River, then they can goe out of Downes into the River of London.

The Dutch carry home rice, oyle, Butter, hemp, cordage, saile cloth, raw silk, silk wrought, salt petre, Opium, Turminck, Neelaes, Ginghams, Tapits, Brawles, or Slave cloutes, achee Beagues (?), sugar, Long pepper, and Bess wax, as much as they can gett..............

The Portugueez, though numerous in Hugly, yett are reduced to a very low and meane Condition, their trade not worth mentioning, their subsistence being to be entertained in the Mogulls pay as Soldiers...........

From "Account of the trade of Ballasore."

"Ballasore begunn to be a noted place when the Portugueez were beaten out of Angelin by the Moores, about the year 1636, at which time the trade began to decay at Pepley, and to have a diminution in other places of these parts; and the Barr opening and the River appearing better than was imagined. The English and the Danes endeavoured to settle ffactories here, to be out of the troubles the Portugueez gave to other nations and had themselves, the rather because the Cloth of *Harrapore,*[1]

* Hariharpur (the Harharrapore of Bruton) where the first English factory of the Bay was founded May, 1632.

where our first ffactorye was settled was without much difficultys to be brought hither by land, and the River where our Vessels usually had laine at being stopt out, it was noe easy matter to bring the Cloth by Sea, nor soe safe to have vessells ride before that place, as here in the Roade of Ballasore.

And the Raja of Tillbich Rumbung, his Countrey byeng near this place where the greatest quantitye of Tesser or Herba is procurable, a settlement was thought the more convenient because Ginghams, Herba Taffetyes, Herba Lungee, and other sorts of Herba goods might be made neare and brought hither, and noe where so good Herba goods procurable, the waters of Casharry giveing the most lasting dye to them and within two dayes journey of this place.

It is interesting to place by the side of this what Mandelslo relates of Bengala. He tells us—

Next to Orixa, winding towards the North, lyes the Kingdom of Bengala, which gives name to the Gulph, by the Ancients called *Sinus Gangeticus*. They drive here a great trade in Rice, Sugar, and Cotton, but chiefly in Silks, which are esteem'd the best in all the Indies. The finest Canes we have are brought from Bengala, where there likewise grows a sort of canes which are finer then the Osier, in so much as vessels are made of them, which being glazed with Lacque on the inside, contain liquid matters, as long and as well as a Glass or Silver Bowl. There also grows a certain Herb, having on the top of its stalk, (which is

about the compass of a mans thumb) a great button like a tassel; this tassel is spun out, and there are excellent stuffs made of it. The Portuguez call it *Herba de Bengala*, and make of it Hangings and Coverlets, in which they represent all sorts of Figures.

It will thus be seen that the authorities so far referred to corroborate each other's statements regarding the natural products of the soil, the staple articles of trade and the *modus operandi* of the Company in reference to their trading operations in Bengal in the Seventeenth Century.

ADDENDUM.

The mission consisted of six Englishmen, and set out from Masulipatan on the 22nd March 1632. Off Harssapoore "came a Portugall frigate fiercely in hostility towards us." This vessel, however, finding that the English "were ready for their entertainment," came to an anchor, and sent on board with great professions of amity, in which there was "nothing worthy of belief as the sequel shewed," for Mr. Cartwright with some of his crew having landed, the Portuguese, "assisted by some of the ribble-rabble rascals of the towne," set upon them, wounded several, and, but for the assistance of the governor, the whole might have been cut to pieces; however, "by God's help all was pacified." The English, however, took possession of the Portuguese vessel, which, as we shall afterwards see, they claimed as prize. Mr. Cartwright, with Bruton and another, proceeded to Cuttack, leaving Colley at Harssapore with four compa-

nions and a large proportion of the goods, "for he is no wise merchant that ventures too much in one bottom, or is too credulous to trust Mahometanes or infidels." They loaded their boats with gold, silver, cloth, and spices, which last are almost as dear in this part of India as in England. A journey, partly by water and partly by land, brought them to Balkkada, "a strong and spacious thing", very populous. "There are many weavers in it, and it yieldeth much of that country fashion cloth." The governor received them extremely well, and furnished them with cowlers (coolies) to convey their goods, which were now taken off the carts. He honoured them with his company for several miles, accompanied with the sound of various musical instruments, "on which they play most delicately out of tune, time, and measure." On the 30th April they reached Coteke (Cuttack), and were well entertained previous to their introduction into the court of Malkandy, which was to take place on the following day.

In approaching to Malcandy, with the magnificence of which the writer appears to have been deeply struck, they went first along a stone causeway two feet broad. A great gate then ushered them into the *bussar* (bazaar), or "very faire market place," for all sorts of provisions. A second gate, guarded by 50 men, led into a spacious street, on each side of which are merchants selling all kinds of rich aud costly commodities. A third gate led into a street chiefly distinguished by a magnificent pagoda. The fouth gate was "very spacious and high, and upheld by mighty pillars of gray marble." They then came into a broad street, which he compares to that between Charing-cross and Whitehall. This street contained nothing but the palace, and 1000 horses were kept constantly in readiness there for the king's use. They

then entered the palace, and passed through several spacious halls, paved with marble, till they reached the Derbar (Durbar). After they had awaited for some time, "the word came forth that the king was coming, then they hasted and overlaid the great large pavement with rich carpets, and placed in the midst against the railes, one fairer and richer carpet than the rest, wrought in Bengalla worke." Then the king entered accompanied by forty or fifty of his courtiers, "very grave men to see to." The guide then introduced Mr. Cartwright, who "did obedience." The monarch received him with gracious bows, to which he added a favour with which that gentleman could well have dispensed, by pulling off his sandals, and holding out his naked foot to kiss, "which he twice did refuse to doe, but at last he was faine to do it." The presents were then delivered, and Mr. Cartwright being asked his demands, stated, liberty to trade in the nabob's ports and havens, permission to coin money, and freedom from custom. The discussion of these matters was interrupted by the arrival of their old enemy, the Portuguese captain, who insisted that his vessel had been seized in the most shameful and piratical manner, and without a pretence of right. Cartwright maintained that all vessels which could not produce passes from the English, Danes, or Dutch, were lawful prize, and this vessel had only passes from the Portugals, which they call by the name of fringes." After much dispute, the nabob hit upon an expedient for equally accommodating both parties. "Hee made short worke with the matter, and put us all out of strife presently, for hee confiscated both vessel and goods, all to himselfe." The merchant, however, felt no disposition to concur in this compromise. "He rose up in a great anger and departed, saying that if he could not have right here, he would

have in another place, and so went his way, not taking leave of the nabob nor of any other, at which abrupt departure they all admired." This high tone, instead of giving offence, appears to have impressed the nabob with an idea of the importance of the English character. He sent next day for Cartwright, and asked, smiling, why he had gone off in such anger? "To which he answered, with a sterne undaunted countenance, that he had done his masters of the Hon'ble Company wrong, which could not be so endured or put up." The king was then heard carefully inquiring among his attendants, what English was, the extent of its naval power, and the situation of its settlements. The answers all tended to inspire him with a high idea of the importance of this nation, in reply to which he "said but little, but what he thougt is beyond my knowledge to tell you." The result was, that he offered the English a free trade, on condition that they should assist his vessels in all cases of distress, either from sea or enemies, and that they should not make prize of any vessel within his ports, rivers, or roads. These conditions being agreed to, were made the basis of formal document, which was drawn up on the spot, and sealed two days after. On the sixth, Mr. Cartwright was asked to a great feast, where the king was surrounded "with the most and chiefest of all his nobles." He was "exceeding merry and pleasant," and having sent for an elegant robe, put it with his own hand upon Cartwright, and "thus was he invested and entertained in the presence of this royal, noble, and great assembly."

APPENDIX A.

CAPTURE OF A ROYAL SHIP

The English at Bombay.

The Royal ship called the Ganj-i-Sāwai, than which there was no larger in the Port of Surat, used to sail every year for the House of God (at Mecca). It was now bringing back to Surat fifty-two lacs of rupees in silver and gold, the produce of the sale of Indian Goods at Mocha and Jedda. The captain of this ship was Ibrāhim Khán. ** There were eighty guns and four muskets on board, besides other implements of war. It had come within eight or nine days of Surat, when an English ship came in sight, of much smaller size, and not having a third or fourth part of the armament of the Ganj-i-Sāiwai. When it came within gun-shot, a gun was fired at it from the Royal ship. By ill-luck, the gun burst, and three or four men were killed by its fragments. About the same time, a shot from the enemy struck and damaged the mainmast, on which the safety of the vessel depends. The Englishmen perceived this, and being encouraged by it, bore down to attack, and drawing their swords, jumped on board of their opponent. The Christians are not bold in the use of the sword, and there were so many weapons on board the royal vessel that if the captain had made any resistance, they must have been defeated. But as soon as the English began to board, Ibrahim Khan ran down into the hold.

The enemy soon became perfect masters of the ship. They transferred the treasure and many prisoners to

their own ship. When they had laden their ship, they brought the royal ship to shore near one of their settlements, and busied themselves for a week searching plunder, stripping the men, and dishonouring the women, both old and young. They then left the ship, carrying off the men. Several honourable women, when they fouud an opportunity, threw themselves into the sea, to preserve their chastity, and some others killed themselves with knives and daggers.

This loss was reported to Aurangzeb, and the news-writers of the port of Surat sent some rupees which the English had coined at Bombay, with a superscription containing the name of their impure King. Aurangzeb then ordered that the English factors who were residing at Surat for commerce should be seized. Orders were also given to I'timád Khán, Superintendent of the port of Surat, and Sidi Yákút Khán, to make preparations for besieging the fort of Bombay. The evils arising from the English occupation of Bombay were of long standing. The English were not at all alarmed at the threatening. They knew that Sìdì Yákút was offended at some slights he had received. But they were more active than usual in building bastions and walls, and in blocking up the roads, so that in the end they made the place quite impregnable. I'timád Khán saw all these preparations, and came to the conclusion that there was no remedy, and that a struggle with the English would result only in a heavy loss to the customs revenue. He made no serious preparations for carrying the royal order into execution, and was not willing that one rupee should be lost to the revenue. To save appearances, he kept the English factors in confinement, but privately he endeavoured to effect an arrangement. After the confinement of their factors, the English by way of reprisal, seized upon every Imperial Officer,

wherever they found one, on sea or on shore, and kept them all in confinement. So matters went on for a long time.

During these troubles I, the writer of this work, had the misfortune of seeing the English of Bombay, when I was acting as agent for 'Abdur Razzák Khán at the port of Surat. I had purchased goods to the value of nearly two lacs of rupees, and had to convey them from Surat to Abdur Razzák the faujdár of Ráhiri. My route was along the sea-shore through the possessions of the Portuguese and English. On arriving near Bombay, but while I was yet in the Portuguese territory, in consequence of a letter from Abdur Razzàk, I waited ten or twelve days for the escort of Sìdì Yákūt Khán. Abdur Razzák had been on friendly terms with an Englishman in his old Haìdárábád days, and he had now written to him about giving assistance to the convoy. The Englishman sent out the brother of his diwan, very kindly inviting me to visit him. The Portuguese captain and my companions were averse to my going there with such valuable property. I, however, put my trust in God, and went to the Englishman. I told the diwán's brother, that if the conversation turned upon the capture of the ship, I might have to say unpleasant things, for I would speak the truth. The Englishman's vakil advised me to say freely what I deemed right, and to speak nothing but the truth.

When I entered the fortress, I observed that from the gate there was on each side of the road a line of youths, of twelve or fourteen years of age, well dressed, and having excellent muskets on their shoulders. Every step I advanced, young men with sprouting beards, handsome and well clothed, with fine muskets in their hands, were visible on every side. As I went onwards, I found Englishmen standing, with long beards, of similar age, and with the same accoutrement and dress. After that

I saw musketeers (lark-andāz), young men well dressed and arranged, drawn up in ranks. Further on, I saw Englishmen with white beards, clothed in brocade, with muskets on their shoulders, drawn up in two ranks, and in perfect array. Next I saw some English children, handsome and wearing pearls on the borders of their hats. In the same way, on both sides, as far as the door of the house where he abode, I found drawn up in ranks on both sides nearly seven thousand musketeers, dressed and accoutred as for a review.

I then went straight up to the place where he was seated on a chair. He wished me Good-day, his usual form of salutation.

Then he rose from his chair, embraced me, and signed for me to sit down on a chair in front of him. After a few kind inquiries, our discourse turned upon different things, pleasant and unpleasant, bitter and sweet, but all he said was in a kind and friendly spirit towards Abdur Razzak. He inquired why his factors had been placed in confinement. Knowing that God and the Prophet of God would protect me, I answered, "Although you do not acknowledge that shameful action, worthy of the reprobation of all sensible men, which was perpetrated by your wicked men, this question you have put to me is as if a wise man should ask where the sun is when all the world is filled with its rays." He replied, "Those who have an ill-feeling against me cast upon me the blame for the fault of others. How do you know that this deed was the work of my men? By what satisfactory proof will you establish this?" I replied, "In that ship I had a number of wealthy acquaintances, and two or three poor ones, destitute of all worldly wealth. I heard from them that when the ship was plundered, and they were taken prisoners, some men, in the dress and with the looks of Englishmen,

and on whose hands and bodies there were marks, wounds and scars, said in their own language, 'we got these scars at the time of the siege of Sidi Yakut, but to-day the scars have been removed from our hearts.' A person who was with them knew Hindi and Persian, and he translated their words to my friends.'

On hearing this, he laughed loudly, and said, "It is true they may have said so. They are a party of Englishmen, who, having received wounds in the siege of Yakut Khan, were taken prisoners by him. Some of them parted from me, joined the *Habshi*, and became Musulmans. They stayed with Yakut Khan some time, and then ran away from him. But they had not the face to come back to me. Now they have gone and taken part with the *dingmars*, or *sakanas*, who lay violent hands on ships upon the sea, and with them they are serving as pirates. Your sovereign's officers do not understand how they are acting, but cast the blame upon me."

I smiling replied, "What I have heard about your readiness of reply and your wisdom, I have (now) seen. All praise to your ability for giving off-hand, and without consideration, such an exculpatory and sensible answer. But you must recall to your mind that the hereditary Kings of Bijapur and Haidarabad and the good-for-nothing Sambha have not escaped the hands of King Aurangzeb. Is the island of Bombay a sure refuge?" I added, "What a manifest declaration of rebellion you have shown in coining rupees."

He replied, "We have to send every year a large sum of money, the profits of our commerce, to our country, and the coins of the King of Hindusthan are of short weight, and much debased, and in this island, in the course of buying and selling them, great disputes arise. Consequently we have placed our own names on the coins, and

have made them current in our own jurisdiction." A good deal more conversation passed between us, and part of it seemed to vex him, but he showed himself throughout very thoughtful of Abdur Razzak Khan, and mindful of his obligation to protect him. When the interview was over, he proffered me entertainment in their fashion, but as I had resolved from the first that I would not depart from the usual course in the present interview, I accepted only *atr* and *pan*, and was glad to escape.

The total revenue of Bombay, which is chiefly derived from betel-nuts and cocoa-nuts, does not reach to two or three *lacs* of rupees. The profit of the commerce of these misbelievers, according to report, does not exceed twenty lacs of rupees. The balance of the money required for the maintenance of the English settlement is obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God, of which they take one or two every year. When the ships are proceeding to the ports of Mocha and Jedda laden with the goods of Hindusthan, they do not interfere with them, but when they return bringing gold and silver and *Ibrahimi* and *rial*,[1] their spies have found out which ship bears the richest burden and they attack it.

The Mahrattas also possess the newly-built forts of Khanderi, Kalaba, Kasa and Katora, in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the *Habshis*. Their warships cruise about these forts, and attack vessels whenever they get the opportunity. The *Sakanas* also, who are sometimes called *bawaril*, a lawless set of men belonging to Surat, in the province of Ahmadabad, are notorious for their piracies, and they attack from time to time the small ships which come from Bandar Abbasi and Maskat. They do not venture to attack the large ships which carry the pilgrims. The reprobate English act in the same way as the *Sakanas*.

KHAFI KHAN.

1 "Rix-dollars."—Shakespeare's Dictionary.

APPENDIX B.

THE NAVAL FORCES.

Having arranged the affairs of his kingdom with sufficient completeness, Aurangzeb, relying upon the victories he had gained on land, thought of establishing the fear of himself at sea; he therefore resolved to set up a fleet, with a considerable number of ships. The reason for this resolve was the loss of a Mahomedan vessel loaded with *kauris*. In Italian these are called *lumaquelle*,[1] they come from the Maldives, and are current money in the kingdom of Bengal. After some fighting this ship was taken by pirates. The captain and the merchants on the ship said to the pirates that the *kauris* would never be of any use to them, thus they should be satisfied to accompany them as far as Mecca, in which port they would pay them forty thousand *patacas*.[2] The proposal was accepted, and the pirates went to Mecca. At a distance from the harbour they awaited the fulfilment of the agreed bargain. But the Mahomedans, instead of satisfying the pirates, laid hold of the opportunity of two royal vessels being there. These ships had brought *faqirs* and the ladies and lords of Hindusthan to Mecca. They so arranged that with the assistance of other merchant ships they all sailed out to capture the Frank pirate. But it turned out very differently from what they expected. For, going out to hunt, they were themselves hunted. The pirates, seeing some ten or twelve vessels coming against them, pre-

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[1] *Lumachella*, a small snail. *Lumaca*, a snail.

[2] A *pataca* was worth two rupees.

tended to take to flight, in the hope of drawing these inexperienced men out to the open sea.

The Mahomedans did all they could to catch the pirate ship, under the belief that she could not escape, when, much to their surprise, the pirate, with great determination and courage, veered round, and getting amongst the attacking vessels, most dexterously discharged its guns and threw them into disorder. Thus, some dispersed one way and some another. The pirates captured one ship, and after stripping it, set it on fire, consuming both the vessel and all those that were in it. Nor were they satisfied with this vengeance. Knowing the little acquaintance with sea-life and the little handiness at sea possessed by the Mahomedans, they sailed to the latitude of Dio (Diu), near Surat, and waited for the royal ships. These were on their way from Mecca with high-placed lords and ladies, besides *faqirs*. There was also much coin, chiefly Venetian, vulgarly called *zequinhos* (sequine).[1] It turned out as they had hoped, for when the two ships arrived, they attacked them and overcame one of them, when they not only took its valuable cargo, but dishonoured the ladies aboard of it.

The damaged vsesel arrived at Surat, whence the Governor reported to Aurangzeb what had occurred. · This was the reason of his wishing to create a war navy, to sweep the seas of the pirates and make himself powerful at sea. With this object in view the King imparted his design to Jafar Khan, the Chief Secretary, a man of judgment, who demanded time before answering. After some days he said to Aurangzeb that His Majesty had no deficiency of money or timber, or other materials to

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[1] The Venetian *Zecchino*, *cecchino*, or sequin, a gold coin long current on the shores of India, *Yule*

form a navy. But he was without the chief thing that is to say, men to direct it. Aurangzeb reported that the conduct of it might be entrusted to the Franks, who lived on his pay. But Jafar Khan boldly, as a faithful Minister, replied that it would not be well to continue to foreigners-fugitives from their own country—a business of such importance. Those men might easily abscond; nor would they think the Mogul soldiers, who might man the ships, of any account, and these, not being properly trained, would allow themselves to be completely controlled by those commanders.

To all these arguments Aurangzeb turned a deaf ear (as he persisted in his desire to have a fleet), and then issued an order to have a ship constructed. He wanted to have ocular demonstration of the difficulties raised by Jafar Khan. This order was taken to my fellow countryman Ortencio Bronzoni, a lapidary, who made a small ship with its sails and rigging, guns and flags. When it was ready it was launched on a great tank. The King and all the court assembled to behold a kind of machine which could not travel by land. Here the European artillerymen, accustomed to navigation, went aboard the vessel, and caused it to move in all directions by adjusting the sails and working the helm with great dexterity and cleverness. Then, as if engaging some other man-of-war, they discharged the cannon, turning in all directions. On seeing all this, after reflecting on the construction of the boat and the dexterity required in handling it, Aurangzeb concluded that to sail over and fight on the ocean were not things for the people of Hindusthan, but only suited to European alertness and boldness. Thus at last he abandoned the project entertained with such obstinacy.

MANUCCI.

APPENDIX C.

Certayne Reasons, why the English Merchants may trad into the East-Indies, especially such rich kingdoms and dominions as are not subjecte to the Kinge of Spayne and Portugal; together with the true limits of the Portugals conquest and jurisdiction in those Oriental parts.

"Whereas, Right Honorable, upon a treatie of peace betweene the crownes of England and Spayne like to ensue, yt is not to be doubted but that greate exception wil bee taken agaynst the intended voyage of Her Ma[ties] subjects into the East-Indies, by the Cape of Buena Sperança; therefore the Adventurers in the sayed intended voyage most humbly crave, at yo[r] Honours hands to take perfecte knowledge of these fewe considerations underwritten.

"*First*, they desire, that it would please your Honors to urge the Comissioners of the Spanish peace, to put downe, under their hands, the names of al such islands, cities, townes, places, castles, and fortresses, as they are actually, at this present, possessed of, from the sayd Cape of Buena Sperança, along the Cost of Africa, on the Cost of Arabia, in the East-Indies, the Malucos, and other oriental parts of the world: which, if they may bee drawne truly and faythfully to put downe, so that wee cannot be able, manifestly, to prove the contrarie, then wil wee be content, in noe sort, to disturbe nor molest them, wherso-ever they are alreadie commanders and in actual authoritie.

"*Secondly*, if they wil not, by any meanes, be drawne to this themselves, then wee, for your Lordshippes perfect instruction in this behalfe, wil take the paynes to doe it for them. Yt may please your honors, therefore, to under-stand, that these bee al the islands, cities, townes, places,

castles, and fortresses, whereof they be, at this present, actual commanders, beyond the Cape of Buena Sperança, eastward.

On the Coste of Africa:
"Sofala, or Zefala,
"Masambique.
"Sena.
"In the Mouth of the Persian Gulfe.
"Ormuz.

From the Persian Gulfe along the Coste of India, Southward:—

"Diu,
"Damaon,
"Baçaun,
"Chaul,
"Goa, the seat of the viceroy.
"Onor,
"Barçelor,
"Mangalor,
"Cananor,
"Cranganor,
"Cochin,
"Conlaon,
"St. Thomé, or Malipur,
"Negapatam,
"Manar,
"Colombo, in Ceilon,
"Malaca,
"Maluco, or Tidore,
"Amboyna,
"Macao.
"Manilla, in the island of Luçon, one of the Philippinas, and certayne other forts upon that island.

"*Thirdly*, at the places which are under their Government and comaund being thus exactly and truly put downe, and wee being able to avouch it to be so, by many evident and invincible proofes, and some eye-witnesses, if need require; yt then remayneth, that al the rest rich kingdoms and islands of the East, which are in number very many, are out of their power and jurisdiction, and free for any other princes or people of the world to repayre unto, whome the soveraigne lords and governors of those

territories wil bee willing to admitte into their dominions: a chiefe parte whereof are these here ensueinge.

"The names of the chiefe knowne Islands and Kingdoms, beyond the Cape of Buena Sperança wholy out of the dominion of the Portugalls and Spaniards, in the East, Southeast, and Northeast Parts of the World.

"The isle of Madagascar, or San Lorenso, upon the backeside of Africa.

"The kingdoms of Orixa, Bengala, and Aracan, in the Gulfe of Bengala.

"The rich and mightie kingdome of Pegu.

"The kingdome of Junçalaon.

"The kingdome of Siam.

"The kingdome of Camboia.

"The kingdome of Cauchinchina.

"The most mightie and welthy empire of China.

"The rich and goulden island of Sumatra.

"The whole islands of Java Major, Java Minor, and Baly.

"The large and rich islands of Borneo, Celebes, Gilolo, and Os Papuas.

"The long tracte of Nova Guinea and the Isles of Solomon.

"The rich and innumerable islands of Malucos and the Spicerie, excepte the two smal isles of Tidore and Amboyno, where the Portugals have only two small forts.

"The large islands of Mindanas and Calaminies.

"The goulden islands of the greate and small Lequeos.

"The manifold and populos sylver islands of the Japones.

"The countrey of Coray, newely discovered to the north-east.

"In all these, and infinite places more, abounding with greate welth and riches, the Portugales and Spaniards have

not any castle, forte, blockhouse, or comandment, as wee are able prove by these authors or witnesses following :—

Portugalle Authors, printed and written:

"Fernando Lopses de Castanneda, his larg volumes of Ye East-Indies.

"John Barros, his 3 decads of Asia.

"Antonio Galvano, of the Discoverours of the new World.

"Hieronymus Osorius, de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis.

"Duarte Sande, printed at Machao, in China, 1590.

"The notable intercepted Register, or Matricola, of the whole Government of the East-India, in the Madre de Deos, 1592.

"*Spanish Authors printed in Spayne.*

"Gonsalvo de Oviedo, Chronicler for the West-Indies to Charles the V.

"John Gaetan.

"Francis Lopez de Gomara.

Italiens:

"The first volume of John Baptista Ramusius.

"Cœsar Frederic, which lived 18 years in Ye East-Indies, and returned 1581.

"Petrus Maffeus, printed within these 7 years.

"*Englishmen personally in the Malucos, Java, and many other parts of the East-Indies.*

"Sir Francis Drak's men, yet living, and his own writings printed.

"Mr. Thomas Candishe's Companye, yet living, and his writings printed.

"Mr. Ralph Fitche's travayles through most of the Portugal Indies, in print.

"Mr. James Lancaster's and his Companyes voyage, as farre as Malaca, printed.

Hollanders.

"John Huygen de Linschoten's worke, which lived above 7 years in India.

"The first voyage of the Hollanders to Java and Baly, in printe.

"The second voyage to Java, in Dutch and English.

"The testimonie of William Pers, Englishman, with them in y[e] sayd voyage.

"The third returne of the Hollanders from the East-Indies this yere.

"*Fourthly*, let them shewe any juste and laweful reasons, voyd of affection, and partialitie, why they should barre her ma[tie], and al other Christian princes and states, of the use of the vaste, wyde, and infinitely open ocean sea, and of accesse to the territories and dominions of so many free princes, kings, and potentates in the East, in whose dominions they have noe more soveraign command or authoritie, then wee, or any Christians whosoever."

APPENDIX D.

The places to which the English might trade in the East Indies.

You demaunde of me the names of such Kings as are absolute in the East, and either have warr, or traffique, with the Kings of Spaigne. I will beginne in Barbarie, with the kingdoms of Fess and Moroco, which have either of them VI or VII petty kingdoms under them. Then follow the kingdoms of Gaulāta, Tombuto and Melly; where-of the first is poore, and hath smale traffique; the seconde populous, and rich in corne and beasts, but wanteth salte, which the Portugal supplieth; the last hath store of corne, flesh, and cottenwoll, which are carried into Spaigne in great abundance. The next is Guine, a greater and richer kingdome then the former, beinge 500 myles in length; and ther both Portugulls, Frenchmen, and Netherlanders, use much trafficque. The Portugulls hould a forte by the Cape of Tres Puntas, from whence they take many Moores of that countrie prisonners, and make them slaves, and are therefore much hated in Guine. Beyonde Guine is the mightie kingdome of Congo, wher the Portugalls have also traffique, and a little forte called St. Paule; this kinge is hable to bringe 400[m] armed men to the fielde. At the ryver Coanza beginneth the Kingdome of Angola, once tributary of the Kinge of Congo, now absolute and hable to levie a millione of men in his owne countrie. In theis ptes the cheife traffique of the Portugalls and Spaniards is for slaves, whom they carry from hence by thousands, to sell in other countries. From Angola to the Cape of Bona Speranza, alonge the coast, is the Kinge of Climbeby, and many

other pettie lords, which admit of noe trafficque with strangers in their dominions. Beyonde the Cape, to the ryver of Magnice, lieth the Kingdome of Buena, which hath some store of goulde. And at that ryver beginneth the kingdome of Sofala, which stretcheth along the sea to the ryver of Cuama, and is subject to the Portugall, onlie to avoyd the tyraannie of the Kinge of Monomotapa, who is a mightie prince in the mayne, and hath manie legions of men and amazons to guard his countrie. In the mouth of Cuama the Portugalls have a forte, wher they trafficque for gould, yvorie, and amber, brought owt of Monomatapa and countries adjoyning. At Cuama beginneth the litle Kingdome of Angoscia; and then the Kingdome of Mojambique, where the iland is possessed by the Portugalls, and the Mayne, now divided almost into as many Kingdomes, as ther be townes. From the Cape of Bona Speranza, to Mosambique, the people are all heathens and idolaters; from Mosambique to the Red Sea, al Mahometans, excepte a few Christians planted there since the Portugals cominge. Before Mosambique lieth the greate iland of St Laurence, inhabited by heathens, and divided into fowre governments, wher they have both mynes and other riches, but never would traffique with strangers, till of late the Portugalls beganne to use their havens, and carried from them amber, wax, sylver, copper, rise and other Commodities, brought to them abord their shipps, for otherwise they were not suffered to land in the iland. Ther be also many other ilands adjoyning, not yet discovered. Beyonde Angoscia lie the Kingdoms of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinda, all possessed and wasted by the Portugalls; the people are still Mahometans; and acknowledge the greate Kingdome of Monemugi, which lyeth behind them in the continent, confyning with Nilus, and Prester John. That Kinge also bartereth gold, sylver,

copper and ivory, for the cotton and lynnen which the Portugalls doe bringe him. From Melinde to the cape of Guardafuy are many petty Kingdoms, possessed by the white Mahometans, the chief whereof are Pate, Brava, Magadoxo, and Amffion. At the said cape the Portugalls yeerly lye in wayte for the Turkish shippes, which adventure to traffique without their licence, houldinge themselves the only comanders of the seas. From the Cape to the mouth of the Red Sea, are also many small dominions of white Mahometans, rich in gould, sylver, ivory and all kynds of victualls: and behind these cuntries, in the mayne, lyeth the great empire of Prester John, to whom the Portugalls (as some write) doe yeerly send 8 shipps, laden with all kynde of merchandise and also furnish themselves with many sayllers owt of his coast townes in the Red Sea. In the bottom of this sea, at a place called Sues, the Turckes build gallies, which scoure all the coast, as far as Melinde, and everie yeere annoy the Portugalls exceedinge much. Beyond the Red Sea, Arabia Faelix is governed by manie Sultans of greate and absolute power, both by sea and land; uppon the pointe therof standeth the rich and stronge cittie Aden, wher both Indians, Persians, Aetheopians, Turkes, and Portugals, have exceedinge greate traffique. Beyond the gulf of Persia, that Kinge possesseth all the coast, and hath great traffique with the Portugals, with pearls, carpets and other rich comodities. The Ile of Ormus lyeth in the mouth of this golf, and is subject to the Persians, but so that the Portugals hath a forte in it, and ther is the staple of all India, Arabia, Persia, and Turkie, whither Christian merchants do also resort, from Aleppo and Tripolis, twyse in the yeere. Beyonde the Persian lieth the Kingdome of Cambaia which is the fruitfullest of all India, and hath exceedinge greate traffique; the Portugals possesse ther

the towne of Dieu, scituate in an iland in the mouth of Indus, wher he hath great trade with the Cambaians, and all other nations in these ptes. Next is the cuntrie of the Malabars, who are the best souldiers of India and greatest enemies of the Portugals: it was once an entyer empier, now divided into many Kingdoms; part is subject to the Queene of Baticola who selleth greate store of pepper to tho Portugals, at a towne called Onor, which they hold in her state; the rest of Malabar is divided into fyve Kingdoms, Cochin, Chanonor, Choule, Coulon, and Calechut; the last was the greatest, but, by the assistance of the Portugals, Cochin hath now prevayled above him. Beyonde the Malabars is the Kingdome of Narsinga, wher the Portugals also traffique: then the Kingdome of Oriken and Bengalen, by the ryver Ganges, as also of Aracon, Pegu, Siam, Tanassaria and Queda. The iland of Sumatra, or Taprobuna, is possessed by many Kynges, enemies to the Portugals; the chief is the Kinge of Dachem who besieged them in Malacca, and with his gallies stopped the passage of victualls and trafficke from China, Japan, and Molucco, till, by a mayne fleet, the coast was cleared. The Kinge of Spaigne, in regarde of the importance of this passage hath often resolved to conquere Sumatra: but yet nothinge is done. The Kinges of Acheyn and Tor are, in lyke sorte, enemies to the Portugals. The Philippinas belonged to the Crowne of China, but, abandoned by him, were possessed by the Spaniards who have trafficque ther with the merchants of China, which yeerly bring to them above 20 shippes, laden with all manner of wares, which they carry into New Spaine and Mexico. They trafficque also with the Chinois at Mackau and Japan. And, lastlie, at Goa, there is great resort of all nations, from Arabia, Armenia, Persia, Cambaia, Bengala, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, Java, Molucca, and China, and the Portugals suffer them

all to lyve ther, after their owne manners and relligions: only for matter of justice, they are ruled by the Portugall law. In the yeere 1584, many embassadours came to Goa from Persia, Cambaia and the Malabars, and concluded peace with the Portugals; 1586, the Arabians slew above 800 Portugals.

Theis collections I have made out of Osorius, Eden's Decads, and spetially owt of the voyages of John Huighen, havinge neyther means nor tyme to seake other helpes. This, as it is, I recomend it unto you, with my love and good will. From London, this Xth of March 1599 (1600).

FOULKE GREVIL.